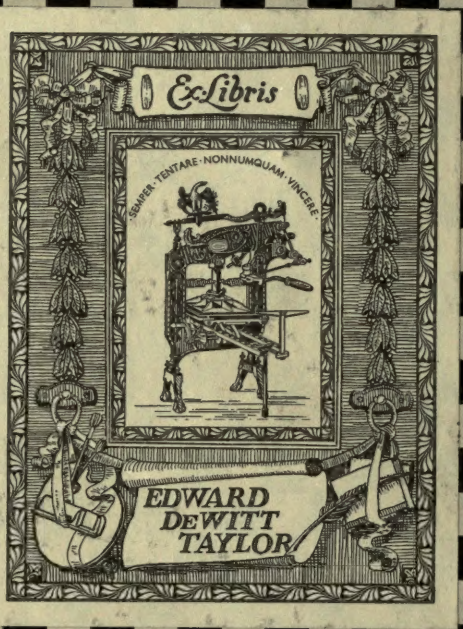
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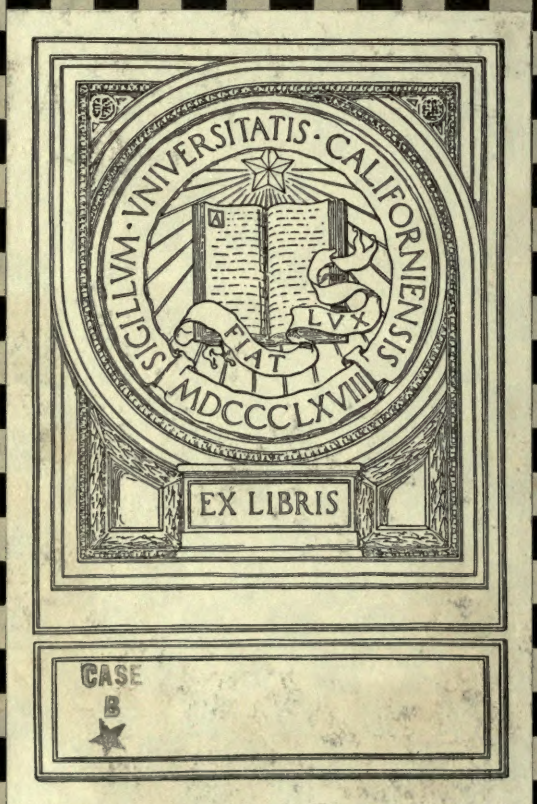
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Henryk Taylor

1919

The Game of the Chesse,

by

William Caxton.

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The original by Caxton has no Title page, or Date.

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The holy apoſtle and doctour of the peple ſaynt
t Poule ſayth in his epyſtle. Alle that is Wryten
is Wzyten vnto our doctryne and for our ler-
nyng. Wherfore many noble clerkes haue endeuoyred
them to Wryte and compyle many notable Werkes and
hiſtoryes to the ende that it myght come to the knoWlege
and vnderſtondyng of ſuche as ley ygnoraunt. Of Which
the nombre is infenyte/And accordyng to the ſame ſaith
Salamon. that the nombre of foles. is infenyte, And
emong alle other goody Werkys. It is a Werke of ryght
ſpeciał recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderſtonde
Wyſedom and Vertue vnto them that be not leznyd ne can
not dyſcerne Wyſedom fro folye. Thēne emonge Whom
there Was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royame
of fraunce of the ordre of thoſpytal of Saynt Johns of
Jheruſalem Which entended the ſame and hath made a
book of the cheſſe moralyſed. Which at ſuche tyme as I
Was reſident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundres cam
in to my handes, Which Whan I had redde and ouerſeen/
me ſemed ful neceſſarye for to be had in engliſſhe/And
in eſcheWyng of ydlenes And to thende that ſōme Which
haue not ſeen it/ne vnderſtonde frenſſh ne latyn. I dely-
bered in myſelf to tranſlate it in to our maternal tonge/
And Whan I ſo had achyeued the ſayd tranſlacion, I
dyde doo ſette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym,
Which anone Were depeſſhed and ſolde. Wherfore by cauſe
thys ſayd book is ful of holſom Wyſedom and requyſyte
vnto euery eſtate and degree, I haue purpoſed to
enprynte it/ sheWyng therin the figures of ſuche perſons

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as longen to the playe. In whom al astates and degrees ben comprysedn / besechyngn al them that this litel werke shal see / here, or rede to haue me for excusedn for the rude & symple makyng and reducyn in to our englisshe / Andn where as is defaute to correcte and amende / and in so doyng they shal deserue meryte andn thanke, andn I shal pray for them, that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in his euerlastyngn blisse in heuen, to the whiche he brynge vs, that wyth his precious bloodn redemedn vs Amen

This book is deuydedn and departed in to four traytyes andn partyes.

The first traytye

How the playe of the chesse was fyrst founden and vnder what kyngn capitulo . . . j
Who fond first the playe of the chesse capitulo . ij
Wherfore the play was founden andn maad Capitulo iij

The second traytye

The forme of a kyng of his maners and estate ca j
The fourme & maners of a quene ca . ij
The condicions & forme of the alphyns ca iij
The ordre of chyualrye or knyghthode her offyces and maners capitulo iiij
The forme and maner of rookes capitulo v

The third traytye

The offices & maners of labourers Capitulo j
The maner & offyce of a smyth capitulo . . ij
Thoffyce of notaries/aduocates.scriueners and drapers or clothmakers capitulo iij
The maners of marchauntes & chaungers capitulo iiij
The forme of phisiciens . leches spycers and appotyca, ryes capitulo v
Of tauerners. hostelers & vitaillers capitulo vi
Of kepers of townes . Receyuers of custum and tollenars capitulo vij
Of messagers . currours . Rybauldes and players at the dyse capitulo viij

The fourth traytye

Of the chesse borde in genere how it is made capitulo j
The draught of the kyng and how he meueth hym in the eschequer capitulo ij
Of the moeuyng of the quene and how she yssueth out of her place capitulo iij
Of the yssue of the Alphyns capitulo iiij
Of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo v
Of thyssue of the rookis & of her progresse capitulo vj
Of thyssue of the comyn peple/ whom the pawnes represente capitulo vij
Of the epilogacion and recapitulacion of thys book capitulo viij

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This first chapitre of the first tractate sheweth vnder what kyng the playe of the Chesse was founden and maad. Capitulo primo

Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may a be in a man the first and the grettest is. Whan he fereth not ne dredeth to displese & make wroth god by synne & the peple by kyuyng disordonably / Whan he retcheth not nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his vyces / But sleeth them. In suche wyse as did the empeour nero. Whiche did do slee his mayster seneque / for as moche as he myght not suffre to be repreuyd & taught of hym. in like wise was sotyme a kyng in babilon that was named

Enylmewdach a Jolye may Without Juſtyſe and ſo cru-
el that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces
and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that
men calle Voultres / And Was of ſuche condicion as Was
Newe / And right Wel reſembled and Was lyke vnto his
fader Nabugodonoſor • Whiche on a tyme Wold do ſlee all
the ſage and Wiſe men of Babilone • For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreme that he had dremyd on a
nyght and had forgoten hit like as hit is Wreton in the
byble in the book of danyel• Vnder this kyng thene Enyl
mewdach Was this game and playe of the cheſſe foundē •
TreWe it is that ſome men Wene/that this play Was foū
den in the tyme of the bataylles and ſiege of troye • But
that is not ſo / For this playe cam to the playes of the
Caldees as diomedes the greek ſaith and reherceth / that
amonge the philoſophres Was the moſt renomed playe a
monge al othez playes • And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alixandez the grete in to egypt and ſo vnto
alle the parties toWard the ſouth • And the cauſe Wherfore
this playe Was ſo renomed ſhal be ſayd in the iij chapitre/

This chappytre of the fyrſt tractate ſheWyth Who fondy fyrſt the playe of the Cheſſe. Capitulo ij

His playe fonde a phyloſopher of thozyent Whyche t Was named in caldee Eyerſes or in greke philemetor Which is as mocke to ſay in engliſſh as he that louyth Juſtyce and meſure / And this philoſopher Was renomed gretly among the grekes andy them of Athenes Whyche Were good clerkys and phyloſophers alſo renomed of theiz connyng / This philoſopher Was ſo Juſt and treWe that he had leuer dye / than to lyue longy and be a fals flatezer With the ſaydy kyng / Foz Whan he behelde the foul & ſynful lyf of the kyng · And that no man durſt blame hym

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that diſple ſid him. He put hym ſelf in parel of deth / and louyd & chees rather to dye thay lenger to lyue. The euyl lyf and diſſamed of a kyng is the lyf of a cruel beſte. and ought not longe to be ſuſteyned / for he deſtroyeth hym that diſple ſith him. And therfore reherceth Valerius. that there Was a Wyſe man named theodore cerem Whom his kyng dyd do hange on the croſſe for as mocke as he repreuyd hym of his euyl & foul lyf, and alWey as he Was in the torment he ſayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours and theym that ben clad in thy clothyng and robys Were more reſon that this torment ſholde come / for as mocke as they dar not ſay to the the trouth for to do Juſtyce right Wyſlye / of my ſelf I make no force Whether I dye on the londe or on the Water or otherWyſe / As Who ſayth he retched not to dye for Juſtyce. In like Wyſe as democreon the philoſo: phre put out his oWne eyen by cauſe he Wolde not ſee that no good myght come to the euyl and vycious peple Wyth out right, And alſo deffendes the philoſophre as he Went toWard his deth. His Wyf that foloWed after hym ſayd that he Was dãpned to deth Wrongfully. thẽne he anſWerd and ſayd to her. holde thy pees and be ſtylle / hit is better and more meritorye to dye by a Wrong & vnrightful Ju: gement / than that I had deſerued to dye.

The thyrd chapitre of the first tractate treteth Wherfore the playe Was founden and maad̃ Capitulo iij

The causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ben iij

t. The first Was for to correcte and repreue the kyng for Whan this kyng enylmewdach ſaWe this playe / And the barons · knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe Wyth the philoſopher / he merueylled gretly of the beaulte and noueltee of the playe . And deſired to playe agaynſt the philoſopher / The philoſopher anſWerd and ſayd to hym that hit myght not be doon / but yf he first lernyd the play The kyng ſayd hit Was reſon and̃ that he Wold put hym to the payn to lerne hit / Than the philoſopher began to

teche hym/ and to ſhewe hym the maner of the table of the cheſſe borde and the cheſſe meyne. And alſo the maners & the condycions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn peple and of theyr offyces and how they ſhold be touchyd & drawen/ And how he ſhold amende hym ſelf and become vertuous, and when this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym he demaundeth hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had foundey and maad this playe, and he anſwerd my right dere lord and kyng .the grettest and moſt thyng that J deſire is that thou haue in thy ſelf a glorious and vertuous lyf. And that may J not ſee, but yf thou be enoctrined and wel manerdy and that had.ſo mayſt thou be beloued of thy peple . Thus than J deſire that thou haue other gouernement thēne thou haſt had .& that thou haue vpon thy ſelf fizſt ſeignourie & maiſtrie ſuche as thou haſt vpon other by force and not by right, Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maiſter ouer other & comaūdour whē he can not rewle nor may rewle hym ſelf and that his vertues domyne aboue his vyces, for ſeignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure/Thenne thus may thou ſee ony of the cauſes why and wherfore J haue foundey & maad this playe .Whiche is for to correcte and repreue the of thy tyrannye & vicious lyuyng .for all kynges ought ſpecially to here her correctours and her correccions to holde and kepe in mynde . In like wyſe as valerius reherceth that the kyng alixandre had a noble and renomed knyght that ſayd in repreuyng of Alixandre that he was to mocke couetous & in eſpecial of the honours of the world, And ſayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte. Alle the Worldy oude not holde the. for thou holdeſt in thy right honde al the ory ent, and in thy lifte honde the occident. ſith than hit is ſo or thou art a god or a man or nought. yf thou be god. doo than Wel and good to the peple as god doth. and take not from them that they ought to haue and is theyres. Yf thou be a man thynke that thou ſhalt dye. and than thou ſhalt doo noon euyl / yf thou be nought forgete thy ſelf. There is no thyng ſo ſtronge and ferme. but that ſumtyme a feble thyng caſteth doun and ouerthrowe hit. How Wel that the lyon be the ſtrengeſt beeſt, yet ſomtyme a lityl byrde eteth hym/ The ſecond cauſe Wherefore this playe Was founden and maad. Was for to kepe hym from ydleneſſe / Wherof ſeneque ſayth Vnto lucylle ydlenes Without ony occaſion is ſepulture of a man lyuyng / and Tazo ſaith in his ſentences that in lyke Wyſe as men goo not for to goo, the ſame Wyſe the lyf is not gyuen for to lyue but for to doo Wel and good. & therfore ſecondly the philoſopher fond this playe for to kepe the peple from ydlenes, for there is mocke peple Whan ſo is that they be fortunat in Worldly goodes that they drawe them to eaſe & ydlenes Wherof comyth ofte tymes many euylles and grete ſynnes / and by this ydlenes the herte is quenchyd Wherof comyth good deſperacion. The thyrd cauſe is that euery man naturelly deſireth to knowe and here noueltees and tydynges. for this cauſe they of Athenes ſtudyed as We rede, and for as the corporal or bodelye ſight enpeſſheth and letteth otherWhyle the knowleche of ſubtyl thynges. Therfore We rede that democrite the

philoſopher put out his owen eyen, For as moche as he myght haue the better entendement and vnderſtondyng. many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkis in like wyſe as was didimus byſſhop of alyandrie. that how wel that he ſawe not. yet he was ſo grete a clerke/that gregore nazaz and ſaynt Jerome that were clerkes and mayſters to other cam for to be his ſcolers and lernyd of hym. And ſaynt anthonye the grate hermyte cam for to ſee hym on a tyme, and emonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym yf he were not gretly dyſpleſid that he was blynde & ſawe not. and he anſwerd, that he was gretly aſtonyd for that he ſuppoſid not that he was not diſpleaſidy in that he hadi loſt his ſight, and ſaynt anthonye anſwerd to hym I mer uaile moche that hit diſpleſith the that thou haſt loſt that thyngi which is compyn betwene the and bestes. and thou knoweſt wel that thou haſt not loſt that thyng that is co myn betwene the and the aungellis, And for thiſe cauſes forſayd the philoſopher entended to put awey al penſifnes andi thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as ſhal be ſayd and appere in this/book after.

The ſecond tractate / the firſt chapiter treteth of the forme of a kyng of his maners & of his eſtate Capitulo primo

The kynge muſt be thus maad .for he muſt ſytte
t in a chayer clothyd in purpure / cwWned on his heed in his right hond a ceptre and in the lift honde an apple of golde / for he is the moſt gretteſt and hyeſt in dygnyte aboue al other and moſt Worthy / And that is ſignyfyed by the cwne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of the kyng / and aboue al other the kyng ought to be re= plenyſſhed With Vertues and of grace .and this ſignyfieth the purpure / For in like Wyſe as the robes of purpure maketh fayr and enbelliſſheth the body. the ſame Wyſe Vertues

makyth the ſoWle / he ought alWey thynk on the gouerne
ment of the Wyame & Who hath thadmynyſtracion of Juſ:
tyce / and this ſhold he by hym ſelf pryncipally / This ſig:
nefyeth the appel of golde that he holdeth in his lift honde/
and for as mocke as it apertayneth vnto hym to punyſſhe
the rebelles hath he the ſceptre in his right hond . And for
as mocke as myſericorde and trouth conſerue and kepe the
kyng in his trone / Therfore ought a kyng to be merciful
and debonayr · for Whey a kyng or prynce deſireth or Wyl
be belouyd of his peple lete hym be gouernedy by debonayrte
And Valerius ſaith that deboneyrte percyth the hertes of
ſtraungers / and amoliſſheth and makyth ſofte the hertes
of his enemyes. Whewf he rehercith that phyloſtratus that
Was duc of athenes had a doughter . Whom a man louyd
ſo ardantly / that on a tyme as he ſaWe her With her moder
ſodaynly he cam and kyſſedy her . Whewf the moder Was ſo
angry and ſorouful that ſhe Went and requyred of her lord
the duc / that his hedy myght be ſmyten of . The prynce
anſWerd to her and ſayd .yf We ſholdy ſlee them that loue
vs . What ſhal We do to our enemyes that hate vs . Cer:
teynly this Was the anſWer of a noble & debonayr prynce
that ſuffred that vylonye doy to his doughter & to hym
ſelf yet more ·This prynce had alſo a frende that Was na
med anſpe that ſayd on a tyme as mocke vylonye vnto
the prynce as ony man myght ſaye.And that myght not
ſuffyſe hym .but he cratchid hym in the vyſage.the prynce
ſuffryd hym patiently in ſucke Wyſe as though he had doy
to hym no vylonye but curteſye . And Whan his ſones
Wold haue auengyd this vylonye . he comaundedy them

that they shold not be so hardy so to dooo / The next day folowyng Arispe remembrid of the right grete vylonye that he had doon to his frende and lord without cause / He fyl in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / Whan the duc knewe and vnderstood that . he cam to hym and said ne doubte the no thyng . and swore to hym by hys faith that also wel he was and shold be his frend fro thā forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold / and thus he respited hym of his deth by his debonayrte / and in lyke wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that they of tarente had sayd grete vylonye of hym . for which cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaunded of them yf they had so said . than one of them answerd & said yf the wyn & the candellis had not fayled thys langa ge had ben a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought to haue doon / Than the kyng began to lawhe . For they had confessyd that suche langage as was said and spoken was by dronkenshyp / And for this cause of debonayrte the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the dronken men shold be punysshid / and the sobre men preysed / The kyng thenne thus ought to loue humylite and hate falsyte after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man generally . For the kyng in his royame representeth god & god is verite . and therfore hym ought to say no thyng but yf hit were verrytable and stable / Valerius reherceth that Alyxandre wyth alle his ooste rood for to destroye a cyte whiche was named lapsare / Whan than a phy= losophre whyche had to name anaxymenes whych had ben tofore maistre & gouernour of alixādre herd & vnderstood

of his comyng, cam agayn alixandre to desire and requyre of hym. And Whan he sawe alixandre he supposid to haue ayyd his requeste / Alixandre brake his demaunde tofore and swore to hym to fore he ayid ony thyng by his goodes that suche thyngs as he ayyd or requyred of hym. he Wold in no Wyse doo. Thenne the philosopher requyred hym to destroye the cyte Whan Alixandre Vnderstood his desyre & the oth that he hath maad. he suffrid the cyte to stonde and not to be destroyed/ ffor he had leuer not to do his Wyll than to be periured and forswory and doo ageynst his oth Quyntilian sayth that no grete may ne lordy sholdy not swere. But Where as is grete nede /andy that the symple Wowle or Worde of a prynce ought to be more stable thenne the oth of a marchaunt, Alas Who kepe the prynces their promyses in thyse dayes. not onely her promyses but their othes her seals and Wrytynges and signes of theyr pro= pre handes / alle faylleth god amende hit /

A kyngy also ought to hate all cruelte / For We rede that neuer dyed yet ony pietous persone of euyl deth. ne cruel persone of good deth / Therfore recounteth Valerius that there Was a may namedy therile a Werkman in metalle, that maad a boole of coppre and a lityl Wyket on the syde Wherby men myght put in them that sholdy be brent therin And hit Was maad in suche manere. that they that shold be put andy enclosydy therin sholdy crye no thynge lyke to the Voys of a may but of an oxe.

Andy thys maady he by cause men sholdy haue the lasse pyte of them / Whan he had maady thys boole of coppez. he presentyd hit Vnto a kyngy Whiche Was called philarde

that was so cruel a tyraunt that he delitedy in no thynge but in cruelte. And he tolde hym the condicion of the bole whan philerde herde and understood thys. he alowedy and praisid moche the werke/and after sayd to hym/thou that art more cruel than I am/shalt assay and proue first thy presente and yefte/and so maad hym to go in to the boole andy dye an euyl deth/ Therfore sayth ouyde there is no thyng more resonable thenne that a man dye of suche deth as he purchaseth unto other. Also the kyng ought soueraynly kepe Justyce/who maketh or kepeth a royame with out Justyce. of verry force there must be grete robberye & thefte. Therfore reheceth Saynt Augustyn in a book whyche is intituled the cyte of god/that there was a theef of the see named diomedes that was a grete rouar & dydy so moche harme that the complayntes cam tofore alixander whiche dyd hym to be taken andy brought afore hym/ Andy he demaunded hym wherfore he was so noyous and cruel in the see/ Andy he answerdy to hym agayn/ For as moche as thou art oon a londe in the worlde. so am I another in the see/ But for as moche as the euyl that I doo is in oon galey or tweyn therfore I am callyd a theef But for as moche as thou doost in many shyppys andy wyth grete puyssaunce andy power. Therfore arte thou callydy an Emperour. But yf fortune were for me in suche wyse/ I woldy become a goody man andy better thenne I now am/But thou the more rycher andy fortunat that thou art/ The more worse art thou/ alyxaunder saidy to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in suche wise as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte

but for euyl and mauayste.and so he made hym ryche / and this was he that afterward was a good prynce & a good Justicier, The kyng ought to be soueraynly chaste / and this signefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right side. For it is to be beleuyd and credyble that whan the kyng is a good man / Juste trewe and of good maners & condicions that his children shal folowe gladly the same.for a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro the good condicions of his fader / for certes it is agayust god and nature in partye whan a man taketh other thene his propre wyf / and that see we by byrdes .of whom the male and female haue to gyder the charge in kepyng and norisshyng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme maner of fowles kepen them to their females oonly / As hit appereth by storkes dowues and turtils .But tho fowles that norisshetb not their birdes haue many wyues and femels / As the cok that no thyng norisshetb his chekens And therfore amonge al the bestes that been, man and woman putteth moste their entente and haue most care & charge in norisshyng of their chyldren & therfore doy they agaynst nature in partye whan they leue theyr wyues for other women /of this chastete rehercetb Valerius an exãple & saith that ther was a man of rome whyche was named sapio affricã for as moche as he had cõquerd affrique how wel that he was of rome born.whan he was of xxxiiij yere of age he conquerd cartage & toke moche people in ostage among whom he was presented with a right fayr mayde for his solas & plaisir which was assured & handfast vnto a noble yonge gentilman of cartage whiche was named

Indiuicible, and anon as this gentil scipio knewe that not withstondyng that he was a prynce noble & lusty/dyd do calle anon the parents & kynnesmen of them & delyuerd to them their doughter with out doyng of ony vylonye to her. And the raunson or gold that they had ordeyned for their doughter. gaf hit euery deel in dowaire to her. and the yonge man that was her husbond sawe the fraun chise & gentilnes of hym, torned hym self and the hertes of the noble peple vnto the loue & alliaunce of the romay nes, & this suffisith as touchyng the kyng.

The second chapitre of the second book and treteth of the forme and maners of the quene capitulo secundo

Hus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittyng in a chayer and crowned with a
corone on her heed and cladde with a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboue furrid with ermynes. and she shold sitte on
the lift side of the kyng for the amplexions and enbrasyn
ges of her husbond like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles. her lifte arme shal be vnder my heed and her
right arme shal beclyppe and enbrace me. In that she is
sette on his lifte side is by grace geuyn to the kynge by
nature and of right. For better is to haue a kyng by
successyon thenne by eleccion, For often tymes the elec-
tours and chosers can not ne wylle not accorde / And
so is the eleccion lest, And otherwhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenyent / But hym that they
best loue, or is for them most proffytable,
But whan the kyng is by lignage and by trewe succes-
sion. He is taught enseygned and norisshyd in his
yougth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader. And also the prynces of the royame dar not so
hardyly meue warre agaynst a kyng hauyng a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
wyse.of honest lyf. wel manerdy and not Curious in
norysshyng of her chyldren, Her wysedom ought not
onely to appere in fait and werkes/but also in spekyng
that is to wete that she be secrete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secrete.
Wherfore it is comyn prouerbe that women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordyng therto Macrobe reherceth
in the book of the dremes of Scyppyo. That there was

a chyld of wme that was named papirius that oy a tyme went with his fader which was a ſenatour ⁊ to the cham bre where as they helde theyr counceyl. And that tyme they ſpake of ſuche maters as was comaunded and a ⁊ greed ſhold he kepte ſecret vpon payn of theyr hedes. and ſo departed / And whan he was comen home from the ſenatoyre and fro the counceyl with his fader / His mo⁊ der demaûded of hym what was the counceyl and whewf they ſpake and had taryed ſo longe there / And the chylde anſwerd to her and ſayd he duzſt not / telle nor ſaye hit for ſo moche as hit was defended vpon payn of deth / Thenne was the moder moze deſirous to knowe than ſhe was to fore / And began to flatere hym one tyme / And afterwards to menace hym that he ſhold ſaye and telle to her what it was / And whan the chylde ſawe that he myght haue no reſte of his moder in no wyſe / He made her firſt promyſe that ſhe ſhold kepe hit ſecrete. And to telle hit to noon of the wozld / And that doon / he feyned a leſing oz a lye and ſayde to her, that the Senatours had in counceyl a grete queſti on and dyfference whiche was thys / whether hit were better and moze for the comyn wele of Rome. that a man ſhold haue two wyues / Oz a wyf to haue two huſ⁊ bondys / And whan ſhe had vnderſtonde thys / He defended hyr that ſhe ſhold telle hit to none other body / And after thys ſhe went to her goſſyb and tolde to her thys counceyll ſecretely. And ſhe tolde to another. And thus euery wyf tolde hit to othez in ſecrete / ⁊ thus hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the ſenatoyre Where the ſenatours Were aſſemblyd and cryed With ay hygh Voys .that they had leuer /And alſo hit Were better for the compy Vele that a Wyf ſhold haue tWo huſbondys than a man tWo Wyues , The ſena: tours heeryng this Were gretely abaſſhyd and Wyſt not to ſay , ner What /ner hoW to anſWere . tyl atte laſte that the child papire rehercæd to them all the caas and fayt hoW hit Was happend . And Whan the ſenatours herd and Vn: derſtood the mater they Were gretely abaſſhyd, & cõmendyd gretly the Jngenye and Wytte of the chyld that ſo Wyſely contryued the lye rather than he Wold diſcouere their coun: cyl . And forthWyth made hym a ſenatour , and eſtabliſ: ſhed and ordeyned fro thay forthoy that no chyld ỹ ony Wiſe ſhold entre ỹ to the coũcyl hoWs amonge them With their faders except papirius·Whome they Wold that he ſhold alWey be amonge them . Alſo a quene ought to be chaſte For as ſhe is aboue al other ỹ eſtate and reuerence . So ſhold ſhe be enſaumple Vnto al other ỹ her kuyng honeſt lye , Whewf Jerome reherceth agaynſt Jonynyay . that there Was a gentyl man of rome named duele· and this man Was he that firſt fond the manez to fight oy the Wa: ter , and had firſt the Victorye /This duele had to his Wyf one of the beſt Women and ſo chaſte . that euery Woman myght take enſaumple of her/and at that tyme the ſynne of the fleſſhe Was the gretteſt ſynne that ony myght doo agaynſt nature/And this ſayd good Woman Was named ylie .And ſo hit happend that this duele became ſo olde that he ſtoWped and quaked for age. and on a tyme one of his aduerſayres repreuyd & repwchyd hym ſayeng that he had

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he went home to hys wyf al angry and abasshyd/ and axed her why & wherfore she had not tolde his defaute to hym that he myght haue founden remedye to haue ben pourged therof/ & she answerd that as for as moche as she supposyd that euery man hadn the same faute as wel as he, For she kyst neuer ony man nes mouth but her husbondes. O moche was this woman to be praysedn andn haue a synguler lawde wenyng that this defaute had not ben onely in her husbond, wherfore she suffryd hit paciently/ in suche wise that her husbond knewe his defaute sonner by other thenne by her. Also we rede that there was a wedowe namedn Anna/ whiche had a frende that counceylled hyr to marye. For she was yonge fayr and ryche. to whom she answerdn that she woldn not so doo in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbondn as I haue had & that he were as good as he was. I shold euer ben aferd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that other. & thenne shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede. whiche I wyl not. And yf hit happend me to haue a worse. what sholdn hit proffyte me to haue an euyl husbond after a good. andn so she concluded that she wold kepe her chastete/ Saynt Austyn reherceth in the book de Ciuitate dei that in rome was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede named lucrecia, And had an husbond namedn Colatyne whiche desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named torquyne thorguyllous or the proude. and he was calle sixte for to come dyne andn sporte hym in his castel or manoyr And whan he was entred amonge many noble ladyes he sawe lucrecia/ And whan thys emperours sone hadn seen &

aduertysed her deportes. her countenaunce. her manere / & her beaulte. he was alle rauysshedꝫ and esprysed wyth her loue forthwyth / And espyed a tyme whan her husbondꝫ Collatyn wente vnto the oost of themperour. andꝫ cam in to the place where as lucresse was with her felawshyp whom she receyued honourably. And whan tyme came to goo to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone. And this sixtus espyed where lucrecia laye. and whan he supposid & knewe that euery body was in his first sleep. he cam vnto the bedde of lucresse and that one hand sette on her breste andꝫ in that other honde a nakyd swerd. and saydꝫ to her. Lucresse holde thy pees andꝫ crye not. For I am sixte tarquynus sone. for yf thou speke ony word thou shalt be dede / and for fere she helde her pees. Thēne he began to praye and promyse many thynges / and after he menaced and thretened her that she shold enclyne to hym to doo his wylle / and whan he sawe he coude nor myght haue his entente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my wylle / I shal slee the and one of thy seruauntis and shal lay hym alle deed by thy syde / And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you for your rybaudrye. and lucresse that than doubtedꝫ more the shame of the worldꝫ than the deth. consentyd to hym / And anone after as the emperours sone was departedꝫ. the lady sent lettres to her husbondꝫ her fader her brethern and to her frendes and to a man callyd brute counceyllour and neuewe to tarquyn / andꝫ saydꝫ to them / that yesterday Syxte the emperours sone cam in to myn hows as an ene mye in liknes of a frende. and hath oppressyd me / Andꝫ

knowe thou Tolatyn that he hath dishonoured thy hedde / And how wel that he hath fowled and dishonoured my body .yet myn herte is not / Wherfore I beseche the of pardon forȝefnes and absolucion of the trespas but not of the payne . And he that hath doon thys synne to me hit shal bey to his myschaunce yf ye do youz deuoyr. and bycause no Woman take ensaumple of lucresse and lyue after the trespas .but that she in lyke Wyse take ensaumple also of the payne . And forthWyth With a swerde that she held vnder her gowne oz woke / she wost her self vnto the herte And deyed forthWyth to fore them . and thenne brute the counceyller and her husbond tollatyn and alle her other frendes swore by the blood of lucresse that they wold neuer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of wome tarquyn and al his lygne / And that neuer after none of them sholde come to dygnyte . and al this was doon / Foz they bare the deed corps thrugh the cyte and meuyd the peple in suche Wyse . That tarquyn was put in eyple . and Sypte his sone was slayn . A quene ought to be Wel manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and Shamefast / For Whan a Woman hath lost shamefastnes she may nez can not Weel be chaste . Wherfore sayth Symachus that they that ben not shamefast haue no conscience of luxurye / And saynt ambwse sayth that one of the best parementes and maketh a Womman most fayz in her persone . is to be shamefast . Seneque reherceth that there was one named archezylle Whiche was so shamefast that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of money . and put hit vndez the heed of a youze frende of

herys/ Whiche dissymyled his pouerte and wolde not nor durst not be a knowen of his pouerte. for shame she durst not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he sholde fynde hyt than that she had gyuen hit hym. Wherfore otherwhile men shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly. that they knowe not whens it come, for whan we kepe it secret and make no.boste therof. our dedes and werkes shal please god and them also. A Quene ought to be chosen whan she shal be wedded of the moste honest kynrede and peple/for often tymes the doughters folowen the tatches & maners of theym that they ben dyscended from /Wherof Valerius maximus sayth that there was one that wold marye. Whiche cam to a philosopher and axyd counceyl What wyf he myght best take. he answerd that he sholde take her that thou knowest certeynly that her moder & her graunddame haue ben chaste and wel condycioned. for suche moder /suche doughter co= munely / Also a quene ought to teche her chyldren to ben contynent and kepe chastite entierly. as hit is wryten in ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne and teche them and yf thou haue doughters kepe wel them in chastyte.
For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge & prynce ought to be a clerke for to comaunde to other to studye and rede the lawe of our lordy god / and therfore wrote thempereur to the kyng of fraunce that he sholde do lerne his childrey sones the seuen sciences liberal /and sayd amonge other thynges that a kyng not lettrid resembleth an asse cow= ned / Thempereur octouyan maad his sones to be taught and lerne to swymme /to spryngе and lepe/ to juste / to playe wyth the aye and swerde /and al manez thyng that

apertayneth to a knyght / and his doughters he made hem to lerne to ſeW . to ſpynne to labour as Wel in Wolle as in lynen cloth . and al other Werkis langyng to Women, And Whan his frendes demaunded Wherfore he dyd ſo . he anſWerd hoW Wel that he Was lord and Syre of alle the World . yet Wyſte he not What ſhold befalle of his children and Whether they ſholde falle or come to pouerte or noo / and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alWey lyue honeſtly . The Quene ought to kepe her doughters in alle chaſtyte . For We rede of many maydens that for their Virgynyte haue ben maad quenes / For Poule the hiſtoriagraph of the lombardes reherceth that ther Was a ducheſſe named remonde Whiche had thre ſones & ij doughters And hit happend that the kynge of hongrye cantauus aſ ſayled a caſtel Where ſhe and her chyldren Were Inne / And on a day ſhe beheld her enemyes / and amonge alle other ſhe ſaWe the kyng that he Was a Wel faryng and a goodly man . Anone ſhe Was eſpryſed and taken Wyth his loue . and that ſo ſore that forthWyth ſhe ſent to hym that ſhe Wold delyuer ouer the caſtel to hym yf he Wold take her to his Wyf and Wedde her / And he agreed therto and ſWare that he Wold haue her to his Wyf on that condicion . Whan than the kyng Was in the caſtel / his peple took men and Women and alle that they fonde / her ſones fledde from her / of Whome one Was named Ezmoaldus & Was yongeſt / and after Was duc of Beneuentan & ſithen kyng of the lumbardis / and the tWo ſuſters toke chykens and put hem Vnder her armes neyt the fleſſh and bytWene her pappes / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flessh of the chikyns stanke, and whan so was that they of hongrye wold haue enforced and defowled anone they felte the stenche and fledde awey and so lefte hem sayeng fy how these lombardes stynke. and so they kepte theyr virgynyte. Wherfore that one of hem afterwardz was quene of fraunce, and that other quene of almayn, and hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke acordyng to his promyse the duchesse, and lay wyth her one nyght for to saue his ooth. & on the morne he made her comune vnto al the hungres, And the thyrd day after he dyd doo put a staf of tree fro the nether parte of her. thrugh her body vnto her throte or mouthe, for by cause of the luste of her flessh she betrayedz her cyte and sayd suche husbondz suche wyf. and this suffyseth of the quene

The thyrd chappytre of the ſecondy traytye treteth of the Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio

The alphyns ought to be maad and fozmed in mane
t ze of Juges ſittyngy in a chayer Wyth a book opey
tofore theyr eyey, and that is by cauſe that ſome cauſes
ben crympnel, And ſome bey cyuyle as about poſſeſſions
and other temporel thynges and treſpaces / andy therfoze
ought to be tWo Juges in the wyame / one in the black
for the firſt cauſe, And that other in Whyt as foz the ſe-
condy. Theyr offyce is for to counceylle the kyng. And
to make by his cōmaūdementis good laWes & to enfozme

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners / And to Juge and gyue sentence wel and trewly after the cas is had . and to counceyl wel and Justely alle them that aye counceyl of hem / Wyth out hauyng of ony eye opene to ony persone / And to estudye diligently in suche wyse and to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept be obseruyd be faste and stable / So that they be not founde corupt . for yefte for fauour ne for lignage ne for enuye variable . And as touchyng the first poynt Seneque saith in the book of benefets that the pouz diogenes was moze strong than alixandze / For Alixandze coude not gyue so muche as diogenes wold zefuse . Mazaus aurſus a womayn of grete renomee saith thus . that whan he had besieged and assayled them of Samente / and beneuentans which herde that he was poure / they took a grete masse and wedge of gold & sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he wold reseyue hit and leue his assault and siege / and whan they came with the present to hym they fond hym sittyng on the erthe and ete his mete out of platezs and dysshes of tree and of wode . and did than her message / to whom he answerd and said that they shold goo home and saye to them that sente them that Mazaus aurſus loueth better to be lord and wynne richesses than richesse shold wynne hym . For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and tayn : quysshed / noz by gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne wompid . Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euyll ende that is vntrewe for gold and siluer . and that a may is subget vnto money may not be lordy thewf / Helymondy reherceth that demostene demaûded of anstodone how mocke

he had wonne for pletynge of a cause for hys client. And he answerde a mark of golde. Demostenes answerde to hym agayn/ that he had wonne as moche for to holde hys pees and speke not/ thus the tunges of aduocates & men of lawe ben perilous & domegeable. yet they must be had yf thou wolt wynne thy cause. for with money and yefte thou shalt wynne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr silence/ as their vtterance. Valerius reherath that the senatours of rome took counceil to gedre of two persones that one was poure & that other riche and couetous/ whiche of hem bothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and juge the contre of spayn/ And sappon of affrique saide that none of hem bothe were good ne proffytable to be sent theder. For that one hath no thynge. And to that othez may no thynge suffyse/ And despysed in hys sayenge alle pouerte and auarice in a juge. For a couetous man hath nede of an halpeny. for he is seruaunt and bonde vnto money/ and not lorde therof/ but pouerte of herte and of wylle ought to be gretely alowed in a juge/ Therfore we rede that as longe as the Romayns loued pouerte they were lordys of alle the worlde/ For many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the comyn wele. and for that was most proffitable for the comynalte that they were so poure that whan they were dede they were buryed and brought to erthe with the comyn good/ And theyr doughters were maryed by the cõmaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they despised pouerte/ & begonne to gadze richesses. & haue made grete bataylles. they haue vsed many synnes/ and so the

comyn Wele perissshed/for ther is no synne but that it reig neth there/there is none that is so blissful as he that hath al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no man / & he is riche that coueiteth no thyng/Valere rehercæth that he is not riche that moche hath/but he is riche that hath litel & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Juges take hede that they enclyne not for loue or for hate in ony Ju: gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde ·there loue is ·there can not right Jugement be gyuen . for all loue is blynde ·and therfore loue is none euyn Juge·for ofte tymes loue Jugeth a foWle and lothly Womay to be fayr / And so rehercæth quinte curse in his first book that the grete godaches saith the same to Alyxandre / Men may saye in this caas that nature is euyl / For euery man is lasse aduysed and Worse in his oWne feet and cause than in another mannys·And therfore the Juges ought to kepe hem Wel from Ire in Jugement, Tullyus sayth that an angry and ywus persone Weneth that for to doo euyl is good counceyl/and socrates saith that tWo thynges ben contrarious to counceyl / & they ben hastynes and Wrath ·and galerey sayth in Alexandrye / yf yre or Wrath ouercome the Whan thou sholdest geue Jugement / Weye all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Jugement be not enclyned by loue ne by yeft ·ne fauor of persone tor ne not thy courage ·Helemond rehercæth that cambyses kyng of perce Whiche Was a right Wis kyng had an Vn: rightWis Juge /Whiche for enuye & euyl Wyll had dâpned a man Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dyd hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be ouerd Wyth his ſkyn/and made his ſone Juge and to ſitte in the chayer on the ſkyn of his fader. to thende that the ſone ſhold Juge right Wyſly / & abhorre the Jugement & payne of his fader. Juges ought to punyſſhe the defaultes egally/& fulfille the laWe that they ordeyne. Caton ſaith accompliſſhe and do the laWe in ſuche Wyſe as thou haſt ordeigned & geuen / Valerius rehercith that calen gius a conſul had a ſone Whiche Was taken in aduoultrye & therfore after the laWe at that tyme he Was dampned to loſe bothe his eyen. the fader Wold that the laWe ſholde be accompliſſhed in his ſone Wyth out fauour. but al the cite Was meuyd herewyth and Wold not ſuffre hit / but in the ende his fader Was vanquyſſhed by theyr prayers. And ordeyned that his ſone ſholde leſe one eye Whyche Was put out. And he hym ſelf loſt an other eye. And thus Was the laWe obſerued and kept. And the prayer of the peple Was accompliſſhed. We rede that there Was a counceyllour of rome that had gyuen counceylle to ma: ke a ſtatute that Who ſome euer that entryd in to the ſe: natoyr and a ſWerde gyrt about hym ſhold be deed / Than hit happend on a tyme that he came from Without & entrd in to the ſenatoir & his ſWerd gyrt about hym. Whewf he toke none hede / & one of the ſenatours told hym of hit / & Whan he knewe hit & remēbrd the ſtatute he drewe out his ſWerde & ſlewe hym ſelf tofore them. rather to dye than to breke the laWe / for Whos dethe alle the ſenatours maad gzete ſowe / But alas We fynde not many in thyſe day es that ſo do / But they do lyke as anaſtaſyus ſaith that the laWes of ſome ley like vnto the nettis of ſpynoppis

that take no grete bestes and fowles but let goo andꝫ flee thrugh/but they take flyes ⁊ gnattes ⁊ suche smale thynges / In like wise the lawes now adayes ben not executed but vpon the poure peple + the grete ⁊ riche breke hit ⁊ goo thrugh with al /and for this cause sourden batailles ⁊ discordes ⁊ make the grete ⁊ riche men to take by force ⁊ strengthe lordshippis ⁊ seignories vpon the smale ⁊ poure peple /⁊ this don they specially that ben gentil of lignage ⁊ poure of goodes /⁊ causeth them to robbe ⁊ reue/ and yet constreyne them by force to serue them. ⁊ thys is no meruayle/for they that drede not to angre god , ner to breke the lawe ⁊ to false hit / falle often tymes by force in moche cursidnes ⁊ wickednes . but whan the grete peple do accordyng to the lawe/and punysshe the transgressours sharply/The comyn peple absteyne ⁊ withdrawe hem fro doyng of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And the Juges ought to entende for to studye . For yf the smythes the carpentiers the vignours andꝫ other craftymen say that it is not necessarye to studye for the comyn proffit/ And glorefye them in their cōnyng and say that they ben proffitable + than shold the Juges studye and contemplaire moche more than they in that that sholdꝫ be for the comyn wele. Wherfore saith seneke beleue me that they seme that they do no thyng /they do more than they that laboure for they do spirituel ⁊ also corporal werkis . And therfore amōge artificers ther is no plesaūt rest/ but that reson of the Juges hath maad ⁊ ordeyned hit . ⁊ therfore anglius saith in/li/ atticorꝫ de socrate, that socrates was on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day, he helde one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
Was as he had ben deed or rauysshed, and Whan one demaũ
ded hym Wherfore he Was so pensif. he answerd in al World
ly thynges and labours of the same and helde hym bour=
geys and Cytezeyn of the World, and Valerius rehercith
that carnardes a knyght Was so sage Wyse and laborous
in pensifnes of the comyn Wele, that Whan he Was sette
atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hond vnto the
mete to fede hym self, and therfore his Wyf that Was na
med Mellyse Whom he had taken more to haue her compa=
nye and felaWshyp than for ony other thynge, Fedde
hym to thende that he shold not dye for hongre in his pen=
sifnes. Didimus sayd to alixandre We be not deynseyns
in the World but straungers, nor We ben not born in the
World for to dWelle and abyde alWey therin. but for to
goo and passe thrugh hit. We haue doon noon euyl dede.
but that it is Worthy, to be punysshed & We to suffre payne
therfore, and thenne We may goon With open face & good
conscience. And so may We goo lightly and appertly the
Way that We hope and purpose to goo. Thys suffyseth as
for the Alphyns,

The fourth chapitre of the ſecond book treteth of the ordre of cheualrye and knyghthode and of her offyces and maners capitulo quarto

The knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon ay
t hors in ſuche wiſe that he haue ay helme on his heed and a ſpere in his right hond / & couerd with his ſhelde , a ſwerd & a mace on his lyft ſyde . clad with ay hawberk & plates tofore his breſte . legge harnoys on his legges . ſpo res on his heelis , on hys handes hys gauntelettes . hys hors wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd with his armes . whan the knyhtes ben maad they ben kayned or bathed . that is the ſigne that they ſholde lede

a newe lyf and newe maners . also they wake alle the nyght in prayers and orisons vnto god that he wil geue hem grace that they may gete that thyng that they may not gete by nature, The kyng or prynce gyrdeth a boute them a swerde in signe, that they shold abyde and kepen hym of whom they taken their dispences and dignyte. Also a knyght ought to be wyse liberalle /trewe. strong and ful of mercy and pyte and kepar of the peple and of the lawe /and right as cheualrye passeth other in vertue in dignyte in honour and in reuerence, right so ought he to surmounte alle other in vertue. for honour, is no thyng ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good & vertuous disposicion that is in hym, A noble knyghte ought to be wyse and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght, hit behoued hym that he had long tyme vsid the warre & armes. that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne the other / For sithen that a knyght is capitayn of a ba tayle. the lyf of them that shal be vnder hym lyeth in his honde /and therfore behoueth hym to be wyse & wel aduy: sed, For somtyme art craft and engyne is more worthe than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued in armes/ for other while it happeth that whan the prynce of the batayl affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and strengthe, and wol not vse wisedom and engyne for to renne vpon his enemyes /he is vaynquysshed & his people slayn. therfore saith the philosopher that no man sholdy chese yōg peple to be captayns & gouernours, for as moche as ther is no certeynte in her wisdom/alixāndre of macedo ne vaynquysshed & conquerd Egipte, Jude, caldee Affrique

and aſſyrie vnto the marches of bragmans more by the counceyl of olde men than by the ſtrengthe of the yongh men . We rede in the hiſtorye of wme that there was a knyght whiche had to name malechete that was ſo wyſe & treWe that Whan the emperour Theodoſius was dede· He made mortal Warre ayēſt his broder germayn Which was named Gyldo or Guye . for as moche as this ſayd guye Wold be lord of affrique With out leue and Wylle of the ſenatours / and thys ſayd Guy had ſlayn the tWo ſones of his broder malechete , And dyde moche torment vnto the cryſten peple , and afore that he ſhold come in to the felde ayenſt his broder Guyon . he Went in to an yle of capayre and ladde Wyth hym al the criſten men , that had ben ſent theder in exyle . And maad hem alle to praye With hym by the ſpace of thre dayes and thze nyghtes . For he hadn grete affyaunce and truſte in the prayers and oriſons of good folke and ſpeáally that no man myght counceyl ne helpe but god / And thze dayes tofore he ſhold fight ſaynt Ambroſe Whiche Was deed a litil tofore apperyd to hym & ſheWed hym by reuelacōn the tyme and houre that he ſhold haue victorye . And for ſo moche as he had ben iij dayes and thze nyghtes in oryſons & prayers and that he Was aſſuryd for to haue victorye , he faught Wyth fyue thouſand men ayenſt his broder that had in his companye fouz ſcore thouſand men . and by goddes helpe he had victorye And Whan the barbaryans that Were comen to helpe guyon ſaWe the diſcomfiture they fledde aWey And guyon fledde alſo in to affryque by ſhyppe .And Whan he Was there a zyued he Was ſone after ſtrangled . Theſe tWo knyghtes

of Whom I speke were two brethern germayns. Whyche were sent in to affrique for to deffende the comyn wele. In lyke wyse Judas machabeus, Jonathas, and Symon his brethern put them self in the mercy and garde of our lord god, And ageyn the enemyes of the lawe of godz with litil people in regarde of the multitude that were agayn them, And had also victorye / The knyghtes ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces, For he that is not trewe leseth the name of a knyght. Unto a prynce trouth is the grettest precious stone whan hit is medlid wyth Justyce. Paule the historiagraph of the lombardes reher ceth that there was a knyght named Enulphus & was of the cyte of pappye that was so trewe andz faythful to his lord and kyngz namedz patharichе that he put hym in parylle of deth for hym, For hit happendz that Grymald duc of buneuentayns of whom we haue touchedz tofore in the chapytre of the quene. dydz do slee Godebert whiche was kyngz of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc of tarente / whiche was descendedz of the crowne of lombardes. Andz this grymalde was maad kyng of lombardye in his place andz after this put and banysshed out of the contraye this patharich whiche was broder unto the kyngz Godebert. that for fere andz drede fledde in to hongrye. Andz thenne this knyght enulphus dydz so moche that he gate the pees agayn of his lord patharich agaynst the kyngz grymalde. And that he hadz licence to come out of hongrye where he was alwey in parell. andz so he came andz cryedz hym mercy / And the kyng Grymalde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contre

alWey forſeen that he took not vpon hym & named hym ſelf kyng. How Wel he Was kyng by right / This doon a lityl Whyle after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tongues / thought in hym ſelf how he myght bryng this patharicke vnto the deth. and al thys kneWe Wel the knyght Enulphus / Whiche came the ſame nyght With his ſquyer for to viſite his lord. and maad hys ſquyer to vnclothe hym & to lye in the bedde of his lord / and maad his lorde to riſe and clothe hym With the clothes of his ſquyer / And in this Wyſe brought hym out. braWlyng and betyng hym as his ſeruaunt by them that Were aſigned to kepe the hous of patharich that he ſhold not eſcape / Which ſuppoſid that hit had ben his ſquyer that he entreted ſo outragy-ouſly / and ſo he brought hym vnto his hous Which Joyned Wyth the Walles of the toun. And at mydnyght When al men Were a ſlepe. he lete a doun his maiſtre by a corde. Whiche took an hors out of the paſture and fledde vnto the cyte of aaſt & there cam to the kyng of fraunce And Whan it cam vnto the morne / hit Was founden that enulphus and his ſquyer had deceyued the kyng and the Watchemen / Whom the kyng cõmaunded ſhold be brought tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he Was eſcapyd / and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne the kyng demaunded his counceyl of What deth they had deſeruyd to dye that had ſo doon and Wrought agayn the Wylle of hym / Somme ſaid that they ſhold ben honged & sõme ſaid they ſhold be flayn / and other ſaid that they ſhold be beheded. Than ſaid the kyng by that lord that maad me. they ben not Worthy to dye. but for to haue

moche Worſhyp and honour / For they haue ley treWe to theyr lord + Wherfore the kyng gaf hem a grete laWde and honour for theyr feet .And after hit happend that the pro pre ſquyer and ſeruaunt of Godefferdy ſleWe the traytre Gorylalde that by treſon had ſlayn his lorde at a feſte of Saynt Johy in his cyte of tarente Whewf he Was lord and duc / Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder + & eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. ffor ſo keen they the ſtrenger and the more doubtedy . lyke as Were the no ble knyghtes Joab andy abyſay that fought ageynſt the ſyryens and amonytes and Were ſo treWe that one to that other that they Waynquyſſhed theyr enemyes / Andy Were ſo ioyned to gyder that yf the ſiriens Were ſtrenger thēne that one of them . that other helpe hym / We rede that damon andy phiſias Were ſo right prfight frendes to gy der that Whan dionyſius Whiche Was kyng of zeálle had Jugged one to deth for his treſpaas in the cyte of Siracu : ſane Whom he Wold haue eyecuted .he deſired grace & leue to goo in to his contre for to diſpoſe & ordeyne his teſta ment/ And his felaWe pledged hym andy Was feWrte for hym Vpon his heed that he ſhold come agayn/Whewf they that herde and ſaWe this / held hym for a fool & blamedy hym. And he ſayd alWey that he repentyd hym no thyng at all . For he kneWe Wel the trouth of his felaWe /and Whan the day cam and the houre that eyecucion ſholdy be doon . his feloWe cam and preſentedy hym ſelf toforе the Juge.and diſchargid his feloWe that Was pledge for hym Whewof the kyngy Was gretely abaſſhyd .and for the grete trouthe that Was foundey in hym / he pardenyd hym andy

prayed hem lothe that they Wold receyue hym as theyr grete frende and feloWe + lo here the Vertues of loue/that a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende / Lo What it is to doo for a frende .and to lede a lyf delonayr / and to be Wyth out cruelte +to loue & not to hate /Whyche cauſeth to doo good ayenſt euyl .and to torne payne ym to benefete and to quenche cruelte . Anthonyus ſayth that Julius cæſar lefte not lightly frendſhyp and amytye / But Whan he had hit . he reteyned hit faſte & mayntened hit alWey . Sapion of affrique ſaith that there is no thyng ſo ſtronge as for to mayntayne loue Vnto the deth The loue of conaupiſſence and of lecherye is ſone diſſol= uyd and broken . but the Verray treWe loue of the comyn Wele and proffyt noW a dayes is ſelde founden / Where ſhal thou fynde a man ym thyſe dayes that Wyl expoſe hym ſelf for the Worſhyp & honour of his frende /or for the comyn Wele /ſelde or neuer ſhal he be founden / alſo the knyghtes ſholde be large and liberal / For Whan a knyght hath re= garde unto his ſynguler prouffyt by his couetyſe + he dyſ poyleth his peple / For Whan the ſouldyours ſe that they put hem ym payel . and theiz mayſter Wyl not pay hem theyr Wages likewalle / but entendeth to his oWne prope gayn and proffyt / than Whan the enemyes come they torne ſone her backes and flee often tymes/And thus hit happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than Vyctorye that his auarice is ofte tymes cauſe of his con fuſion / Thenne lete euery knyght take hede to be lyberalle ym ſuche Wyſe that he Wene not ne ſuppoſe that his ſcarcete be to hym a grete Wynnyng or gayn /And for thys cauſe

he be the lasse louyd of his peple .and that his aduersa=
rye Wythdrawe to hym them by large geuyng + For ofte
tyme batayle is auaunced more for getyng of siluer, than
by the force and strengthe of men , For men see alle day
that suche thynges as may not be achyeuyd by force of
nature + ben goten and achyeued by force of money. And
for so moche it behoueth to see wel to that whan the tyme
of bataille cometh that he borowe not ne make no tayllage
For no man may be riche that leuyth his owne / hopyng
to gete and take of other / Than alwey al her gayn and
wynnyng ought to be comyn emong exept theyr armes
For in like wyse as the vyctorye is comune / so shold the
dispoyle and botye be comune vnto them , And therfore
dauyd that gentyl knyght in the first book of kynges in
the last chappytre made a lawe . that he that abode behynde
by maladye or sekenes in the tentes shold haue as moche
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle, And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after ward kyng
of Israel , Alixandre of macedone cam on a tyme lyke
a symple knyght vnto the court of porus kyng of Ynde
for to espye thastate of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court , And the kyng receyuyd hym right worshyp=
fully .And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alix=
ander and of his constance and strengthe. nothyng we
nyng that he had ben alixander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes , and after he had hym to diner .and whan
they had seruyd alixander in vessayl of gold and syluer
with diuerse metes , After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he voyded the mete & toke the vessayl and helde hit to

hym ſelf and put hit in his boſom or ſleuys . Wherof he was accuſid vnto the kyng/After dyner thene the kyng callyd hym and demanded hym Wherfore he had taken hys vaſſayl /and he anſwerd . ſir kyng my lord I pray the to vnderſtonde and take hede thy ſelf & alſo thy knyghtes I haue herd moche of thy grete hyghnes / and that thou art more myghty and puyſſaunt in cheualrye and in diſpenas than is Alixaundez.and therfore I am come to the a pouze knyght Whiche am named Antygone for to ſerue the . Than hit is the auſtome in the couzte of Alixander that What thyng a knyght is ſeruyd Wyth / alle is hys mete and vaiſſel and cupe . and therfore I had ſuppoſid that this auſtome had ben kept in thy court /for thou art richez than he / Whan the knyghtes herde this /anone they lefte porus .and Went to ſerue Alixaunder / and thus he dreWe to hym the hertes of hem by yeftes / Whiche after : Ward fleWe porus that Was kyng of ynde. and they maad Alixandre kyng therof . Therfore remembre knyght alWey that Wyth a cloſid and ſhette purſe ſhalt thou neuer haue Victorye / Ouyde ſaith that he that taketh yeftes / he is glad therWyth / For they Wynne Wyth yeftes the hez: tes of the goddes and of men / For yf Jupyter Weze an gryd . With yeftes he Wold be pleſid . the knyghtes ought to be ſtronge not onely of body but alſo in corage . theze ben many ſtronge and grete of body /that ben faynt and feble in the hezte / he is ſtronge that may not be vaynquyſ ſhed and ouercome . how Wel that he ſuffrith moche other : Whyle / And ſo We beleue that they that be not ouergrete ne ouer litel ben moſt corageous and beſte in bataylle /

We rede that cadrus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle agayn them of polipe / And he was warned and had a reuelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the vyctorye of whom the prynce sholdy be slayn in the batayle. Andy the prynce whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte took other armes of a poure man / and put hym self in the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn and so he was / For the right trewe prynce had leuer dye / than his peple shold be ouercomen. and so they had the victorye / Certes hit was a noble and a fayr thynge to expose hym self to the deth for to deffende his contraye / But no man wold do so but yf he hopydy to haue a better thyngy therfore / Therfore the lawe sayth that they lyue in her sowles gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for the comyn wele. A knyght ought also to be merciful & pietous / For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght so renomedy as is whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he may slee / For to shede and spylle blood is the condicion of a wylde beste and not the condycion of a good knyght Therfore we rede that scilla that was duc of the romayns with out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns & within that were contrarye to hym in so moche that in the bataylle of puylle he slewe xviij thousandy men. Andy in champayne lxx thousandy / and after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnarmedy. & whan one of his knyghtes that was named Quyntus catulus sawe this cruelte sayd to hym / Sesse now and suffre them to lyue andy be merciful to them wyth whome we haue ben victorious. & wyth whom we ought to lyue / For it is the most hyest

and fair vengeaunce that a man may do/as to ſpare them and gyue hem her lyf Whom he may ſle. Therfore Joab ordeyned Whan abſalon Was ſlayn. he ſoWned a trompette that his peple ſholdy nomore renne andy flee theyr aduerſa ries / For there Were ſlayn about yy thouſandy of them. And in like Wyſe dyd he Whan he faught ayenſt Abner / and abner Was vaynquyſſhed and fledde. For Where that he Went in the chaas he cõmaundedy to ſpare the people. The knyghtes ought to kepe the peple /for Whan the peple key in their tentis or caſtellis. the knyghtes ought to kepe the Watche / For this cauſe the romayns callydy them le= gyons /and they Were made of dyuerſe prouynces andy of dyuerſe nacions to thentente to kepe the peple / Andy the peple ſhold entende to theyr Worke / For no crafty man may bothe entende to his craft and to fight/HoW may a crafty may entende to his Werke ſeWrely in tyme of Warre but yf he be kept.and right in ſuche Wyſe as the knyghtes ſhold kepe the peple in tyme of pees in like Wyſe the peple ought to purueye for theyr diſpenas. hoW ſhold a ploW may be ſeWre in the felde/but yf the knyghtes made dayly Watche to kepe them. For like as the glorye of a kyng is Vpon his knyghtes / So it is neceſſarye to the knygh tes that the marchauntes crafty men andy comyn peple be defendedy and kepte / Therfore late the knyghtes kepe the peple in ſuche Wyſe that they may enioye pees and gete and gadre the coſtis and eypenas of them bothe. We rede that athis ſaydy to dauyd Whiche Was a knyght. I make the my kepar & defendar al Wey. thus ſhold the knyghtes haue grete zele that the laWe be kept. For the mageſte

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshedꝫ wyth armes but also wyth good lawes. And therfore shold they laboure that they shold be wel kepte, Turgeus pompeus reherath of a noble knyght named ligurgyus that had made auncient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue for they semed hard for them to kepe, and wold constreyne hym to rapelle & sette hem aparte / whan the noble knyght sawe that. he dyd the peple to vnderstonde that he had not made them. but a god that was named apollo delphynus had made them / & had cōmaunded hym that he shold do the peple kepe them / thyse wordes auaybed not / they woldꝫ in no wyse kepe them. And than he sayd to them that it were goodꝫ that or the sayd lawes shold be broken that he hadꝫ gyuen to them / that he shold goo and speke wyth the god Appollo / For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he retorned agayn / the peple accorded therto and swore that they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retornedꝫ / than the knyght went in to grece in exyle andꝫ dwellydꝫ there alle his lyf / And whan he shold dye he cōmaundedꝫ that hys body sholdꝫ be cast in the see / for as moche as yf / his body shold be borne thedꝫ. the peple sholdꝫ wene to be quyt of theyr othe. and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were so good & resonable. that the knyght had leuer to forsake his owne contre & to dye so than to repele his lawes. and his lawes were suche / The first lawe was that the peple sholdꝫ obeye andꝫ serue the prynces / And the prynces sholdꝫ kepe the peple andꝫ doo Justyce on the malefactours. the second lawe that they shold be al sobre. For

he wyst wel that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge
whan they lyue sobrely/the thyrd was that no man shold
bye ony thyng for money but they shold chaunge ware for
ware / and one marchaundyse for another/ the fourth was
that men sholdꝫ sette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they wold dunge or filthe /the fifthe he ordeyned for
the comyn wele alle thynge by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make bataylle by her power . to the mais
ters councellours he cōmysedꝫ the Jugementis /and the
annuel rentes /to the senatours the kepyng of the lawe .
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to chese suche Juges
as they wold haue ,the sixte he ordeynedꝫ that alle thynge
shold be departed egally ꝛ al thyng shold be comyn . ꝛ none
richer thā other in patrimony/ the vij that euery man shold
eete lyke wel in comyn opynly . that richesse shold not be
cause of luxurye whan they ete secretly . the viij that the
yonge peple shold not haue but one gowne or garment in
the yere /The ix that men shold sette poure children to la=
boure in the felde to thende that they shold not enploye
theyr yongthe in playes andꝫ folye but in laboure . The
tenthe that the maydens shold be maried wythout dowaire
in suche wyse that no man shold take a wyf for money .
The xj that men shold rather take a wyf for her goodꝫ ma
ners andꝫ vertues than for her richesses ,the xij that men
shold worshyp the olde and auncient men for theyr age andꝫ
more for theyr wysedom than for her riches/This knyght
made none of thyse lawes but he first kepte hem/

The wokes Whiche ben Vycayrs and legates of the
t kynge / ought to be maad a knyght Vpon ay hors ⁊
a mantel and hood furrid With meneuier holdyng a ſtaf in
his hand / ⁊ for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla
ces of his wyame / therfore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
to the wokes . Whiche repreſente the kyng . ⁊ for as moche
as a wyame is grete and large / and that zelelkyon or
noueltees myght ſouzde and azyſe in one partye or other /
therfore thez ben tWo wokes one on the right ſyde and
that other on the lift ſyde / They ought to haue in hem pyte
Juſtice / humylite . Wylful pouerte / and lybernlyte /

firſt Juſtyce for it is moſt fayr of the vertues / For hit happeth ofte tyme that the mynyſtres by theyr pryde and ogueyl ſubuerte Juſtyce and doo no right / Wherfore the kynges otherWhyle loſe theyr wyames Wyth out theyr aulpe or gylte / For ay vntreWe Juge or offyœr maketh his lord to be named vniuſte and euyl/& contrarye Wyſe a treWe mynyſtre of the laWe and rightWys/cauſeth the kyng to be reputed Juſt & treWe / The womayns therfore maad good laWes and Wold that they ſhold be Juſte and treWe/and they that eſtabliſſhid them for to gouerne the peple. Wold ny no Wyſe breke them / but kepe them for to dye for them/ For the auncient and Wyſe men ſaid comynly that it Was not good to make and ordeygne that laWe that is not Juſt. Wherof Valerius reherceth that there Was a man that Was named Themyſtydes Whiche came to the counceyllours of athenes and ſayd that he kneWe a counceyl Whiche Was right proffytable for them But he Wold telle hit but to one of them Whom that they Wold. And they aſſygned to hym a Wyſe man named ariſtydes. And Whan he had vnderſtonde hym he cam agayn to the other of the counceyl / and ſayd that the counceyl of themyſtides Was Wel proffytable/ but hit Was not Juſt /hoW be hit ye may reuolue hit ny youre mynde / and the counceyl that he ſayd Was thys. that there Were comen tWo grete ſhippes fro lacedome and Were arryued ny theyr londe/& that hit Were good to take them / & Whan the cõceyl herde hym that ſayd / that hit Was not Juſte nor right/they left hem al ny pees & Wold not haue a doo With al. the Vicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be ſo iuſt

that he shold enploye al his entente to saue the comyn We le · and yf hit Were nede to put his lyf and lose hit ther=fore / We haue an ensaumple of marcus regulus Wherof Tullyus reherceth in the book of offyces . And Saynt Augustyn also de Ciuitate dei. how he faught agayn them of cartage by see in shyppes and Was vaynquysshed and taken · Than hit happend that they of cartage sent him in her message to rome for to haue theyr prysoners there / for them that Were taken . and so to chaunge one for another / And made hym sWere and promyse to come ageyn . And so he came to rome / and made proposicion tofore the senate And demaunded them of cartage of the senatours to be chaunged as afore is saydn / and than the Senatours de maunded hym What counceyl he gaf . certeyn saydn he I counuceyll yoW that ye doo hit not in no Wyse . For as moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in pryson of youris / Gen olde men and brusidn in the Warre as I am my self / But they that ye holde in pryson of theyr peple is alle the flouze of alle theyr folke Whyche couunceyl they took. & than his frendes Wold haue holden hym & coũceilled them to abyde there & not retorne agayn prisoner in to cartage / but he Wold neuer do so / ner abyde but Wold goo agayn & kepe his oth / how Wel that he kne We that he Went toWard his deth / for he had leuer dye than to breke his oth / Valerius reherceth in the vj book of one emelie duc of the romayns . that in the tyme Whan he hadn assiegid the phalistes . the scole maistre of the children de=ceyuyd the children of the gentilmen that he dreWe hym a litil & a litil vnto the tẽtis of the romayns by fayr speche

And ſayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyan of the chyldren that he had brought to hym + He ſholde haue the cyte + For theyr faders were lordes and gouernours / Whan emelye had herde hym he ſaid thus to hym / Thou that art euyl and cruel + And thou that Wolde ſt gyue a gyfte of grete felonye and of mauaſtrye / thou ſhalt nez haſt not founden here / duc ne peple that reſembleth the + We haue alſo Wel laWes to kepe in batayle and Warre / as in our contrees and other places / And We Wol obſerue and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept and We ben armed ayenſt our enemyes that Wol defende them + and not ayenſt them that can not ſaue their lyf Whan their contre is taken + as thiſe litil children / Thou haſt vaynquyſſhed them as mocke as is in the by thy neWe deceyuable falſnes & by ſubtilnes & not by armes, But I that am a womayn ſhal vaynquyſſhe the by craft & ſtrength of armes / And anone he cõmaunded to take the ſayd ſcole maiſter and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a traytour and lede hym vnto the parentis of the chyldren / And Whan the faders and parentes ſaWe the grete curtoyſye that he had doon to them / They opened the yates and yelded them vnto hym + We rede that Hanybal had taken a prynce of rome Whyche vpon his othe & promyſe ſuffred hym to goo home / & to ſende hym his raunſon . or he ſhold come agayn With in a certeyn tyme / & Whan he Was at home in his place / he ſaid that he had deceyued hym by a falſe oth / And Whan the ſenatours knoWe therof / they conſtrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanybal / Amos florus telleth that the phiſicien of kyng pirrus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduerſarye/ and promyſed hym yf he wold geue hym for his labour that he wold enpoy= ſone pirrus his mayſter. Whan fabricius Vnderſtood this he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hand and foot/and ſent hym to his maiſtre & dyd do ſay to hym word for word like as the phiſicien had ſaid and promyſed hym to do / & Whan pirrus Vnderſtood this he Was gretly admeruayld of the loyalte and trouth of fabrice his enemye ' and ſaid certeynly that the ſonne myght lightlyer & ſonner be en = peſſhid of his cours . thenne fabrice ſhold be letted to holde loyalte and trouthe . yf they than that Were not cryſten Were ſo Juſte and treWe and loyd theyr contrey & theyr good renomee · What ſhold We noW doy than that been Cryſten . and that our laWe is ſette al Vpon loue and charite / but noW a dayes there is no thynge ellis in the World but/barate treſō/deceit falſenes & trecherye mē kepe not their couenauntes 'promyſes . othes ,Wytynges , ne trouth/the ſubgettis rebelle agayn theiz lord . ther is noW no laWe kepte , nor fydelyte ,ne othe holden . The people murmure and ryſe agayn theyr lord and Wol not be ſubget , they ought to be pietous in herte / Whiche is a = uayllable to alle thyngs / There is pyte in effect by com = paſſyon / and in Worde by remyſſyon and pardon / By almeſſe . for to enclyne hym ſelf Vnto the poure , For pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grete Wylle of a deli = nary herte for to helpe alle men / Valerius reherſith that there Was a Juge named ſangis Whiche dampned a Wo = man that had deſeruyd the deth for to haue her heed ſmy= ten of or ellys that ſhe ſholdy dye in pryſon .

The Jayler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon to deth but put her in the pryson · and this Woman had a doughter Whiche came for to see and comforte her moder / But alWey or she entrid in to the prison the Jayler sez : chyd hyr that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her mo : der . but that she shold dye for hongez . than hit happend after thys that he mezuayled moche Why this Woman dy: ed not/ and began to espye the cause Why she leuyd so long And fonde atte laste hoW her doughter gaf soWke to her moder . and fedde her With her mylke/Whan the Jalez saWe thys mezueyle /he Went and tolde the Juge / And Whan the Juge saWe this grete pyte of the doughter to the mo: der he pardoned her and made her to be delyuerd out of her pryson /What is that /that pite ne amolisseth /moche peple Wene that it is agaynst natuze and Wondre that the doughtre shold gyue the moder to souke . hit Were agaynst nature but the childrey shold be kynde to fader and moder Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees hath no prykke to stynge Wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath take hit aWay from hym by cause he shold haue none ar : mes to assayle them . and this is an example Vnto pryn ces that they shold be of the same condycon · Valerius re: herath in his fifthe book of Marchus mazcellus that Whan he had taken the cyte of Syracusane / & Was sette in the hyest place of the cyte / he behelde the grete destruccyon of the peple and of the cyte /he Wepte & said/thou oughtest to be sorowful / for so moche as thou Woldest haue no pyte of thy self/But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande of a right debonaiz prynce/ also he recouteth Whan pompeo

had conquerd the kyng of germanye that often tymes had foughten ayenſt the romayns / & that he was brought to fore hym bounden / He was ſo pyetous that he wold not ſuffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym . but he receyued hym auctoryſly . and ſette the crowne agayn on his heed and put hym in theſtate that he was tofore .
For he had oppynyon that it was as worſhypful and fittyng to a kyng to pardone / as to punyſſhe / Alſo he re herceth of a counceyllour that was named poule that dyd do brynge tofore hym a man that was pryſoner / And or he knelid tofore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde and made hym to ſitte beſyde hym for to geue hym good eſpe : raunce and hope / and ſayd to the other ſtondyng by / in thys wyſe / yf hit be grete nobleſſe that we ſhewe our ſelf contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be alo: wed that we ſhewe our ſelf debonayr to our captyfs and priſoners / Ceſar whan he hard the deth of cathon whiche was his aduerſarye ſayd that he had grete enuye of hys glorye . and no thyng of his patrymonye / and therfore he lefte to his chyldren frely al hys patrymonye / Thus taught virgyle and enſeygneth the glorious prynces to rewle and gouerne the peple of rome . and ſaynt Auſtyn de ciuitate dei ſayth thus / Thou emperour gouerne the pe ple pyetouſly / and make pees ouerall / deporte and forbere thy ſubgettis . reprene and correcte the prowde / For ſo enſeyne and teche the the lawes / And hit was wryten vnto alyaunder . that euery prynce ought to be pyetous in punyſſhyng / and redy for to rewarde / there is no thyng that cauſeth a prynce to be ſo belouyd of his peple . as whan

he spekyth to hem swetely + and concerwyth wyth hem sym
ply + and al this cometh of the rote of pyte.
We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repre=
uydz hym of that he was to moche pryue and famulier
wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be
And he answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as
euery man desyredz to haue hym, also we rede of alisaũder
that on a tyme he ladde his hoost forth hastely / & in that
haste he behelde where satte an olde knyght that was sore
acolde, whom he dydz do aryse and sette hym in his owne
sete or siege. what wondre was hit though the knyghtes
desyred to serue suche a lorde that louyd better theyr helthe
than his dignyte + The rookes ought also to be humble &
meke + after the holy scripture whiche sayth, the gretter or
in the hyer astate that thou art / so moche more oughtest
thou be meker and more humble. Valerius reherceth in his
vij book that ther was an emperour named Publius ce=
sar + that dyd do bete doun his hows whiche was in the
myddes of the market place for as moche as hit was hy=
er than other howses / For as moche as he was more
gloryous in estate than other + therfore woldz he haue a
lasse hows than other, and scipion of affrique that was
so poure of valuntarye pouerte that whan he was dede + He
was buryedz at the dispencis andz costes of the comyn
goodz, They sholdz be so humble that they shold leue theyr
offyces / and suffre other to take hem whan her tyme co=
meth + and do honour to other. For he gouerneth wel the
royame that may gouerne hit whan he wyl. Valerius reher
cith in his iij book that fabyan the grete had ben maystre

counceyllour of his fadez his grauntſire / And of his grauntſirs fader and of alle his anteceſſouzs / And yet dyd he al his payn and labour/that his ſone ſhold neuer haue that offyce after hym . But for no thynge that he myſtruſted his ſone for he Was noble and Wyſe and moze attempred than other / but he Wold that the offyce ſhold not alWey reſte in the famylye and hoWs of the fabyans Alſo he reherceth in his ſeuenth book that they Wold make the ſayd fabyan emperour / But he excuſyd hym & ſayde that he Was blynde and myght not ſee for age . But that excuſacion myght not helpe hym / Than ſayd he to hem / ſeke ye and gete you another / For yf ye make me your emperour/I may not ſuffre your maners/nor ye may not ſuffze myn . Theze Was a kyng of ſo ſubtyl engyne that Whan men brought hym the croWne tofore that he toke hit · he remembrd hym a litil and ſayd · O thou croWne that art moze noble thenne happy / For yf a kyng kneWe Wel and parfaytly hoW that thou azt ful of parylles of thoughte and of charge / yf thou Were on the grounde / he Wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp/Remembre the that Whan thou art moſt glorious · thenne haue ſome men moſte enuye on the . And Whan thou haſt moſt ſeignorye and lordſhyps / than ſhalt thou haue moſt care / thought and anguyſſhes / Caſpaſian Was ſo humble that Whan Nero Was ſlayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that he Wold take hit vpon hym . So at the laſt he Was con ſtreyned to take hit vpon hym . and ſayd to hys frendys hit is better and moze to praiſe and aloWe for a man to

take thempyre agaynſt hys Wylle than for to labour . to haue hit and to put hym ſelf therin /Thus ought they to be humble and meke for to receyue Worſhyp . therfore ſaith the byble that Joab the ſone of ſaryne that Was captayne of the Warre of the kyng dauyd / Whan he cam to take and Wynne a cyte . he ſente to dauyd and deſyred hym to come to the Wazze /that the Victorye ſhold be geuen to Dauyd and not to hym ſelf . alſo they ought to be Ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes her offycers / Joſephus re= herzáth that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled moche Why he held his officers ſo longe in theyr offyces Wyth out chaunchyng . And they demaũded of hym the cauſe to Whom he anſWerd J Wolde chaunge them gladly . yf J Wyſt that hit ſhold be good for the peple /But J ſaWe on a tyme a man that Was wyneous and ful of ſores . and many flyes ſatte Upon the ſores and ſouked his blood that hit Was merueyle to ſee · Wherfore J ſmote & chaced them aWay / and he than ſayd to me Why chaſeſt & ſmyteſt thou aWay thyſe flyes that ben ful of my blood / & noW ſhalt thou lete come other that be hongrye Which ſhal doon to me double payne more than the other dyd · for the prick of the hongry is more poygnaunt the half . thenne of the fulle /And therfore ſayde he J leue the offycers in theyr offyces . For they ben al riche /and do not ſo moche euyll & harme /as the neWe ſhold do and Were pouze yf J ſhold ſette hem in her places. They ought alſo to be pacient in herzyng of Wordes and in ſuffryng payne on her bodyes · as to the firſt /one ſayd to aliſaunder that he Was not Wor= thy to reigne /ſpecially Whan he ſuffred that lecherye and

delyte to haue ſeignorye in hym /he ſuffrid hit paciently / And anſWerd none otherWyſe but that he Wold correcte hym ſelf/And take better maners and more honeſte, alſo hit is rehercid that Julyus Ceſar Was kallyd Wherof he had diſplaſir ſo grete that he kempt hys heris that laye on the after parte of his heed forWard for to hyde the bare tofore . Than ſayd a knyght to hym · Cezar hit is lightlier and ſoner to be maad that thou be not kallyd / than that J haue vſid ony coWardyſe in the Warre of Rome /or here after ſhal doo ony coWardyſe . He ſuffryd hyt paciently and ſayd not one Word . another repwchyd hym by his lignage .and called hym baker / he anſWerd that hit is better that nobleſſe begynne in me . than hit ſhold faylle in me / another callyd hym tyraunt / he anſWerd yf J Were one thou Woldeſt not ſay ſo .A knyght callyd on a tyme ſappon of Affrique foWle & olde knyght in armes .And that he kneWe lytyl good . And he anſWerd J Was borne of my moder a lytyl chylde and feble and not a may of armes . And yet he Was at alle tymes one of the beſt and moſt Worthyeſt in armes that lyuyd Another ſayd to Paſpaſion/ & a Wolf ſhold sonez chaunge his ſkyn and heer . than thou ſholdeſt chaunge thy lyf . For the lengez thou lyueſt the more thou coueteſt /and he anſWerd of thyſe Wordes We ought to laughe / But We ought to amende our ſelf / and punyſſhe the treſpaces / Seneke zeherœth that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn peple ſpeke and ſay euyl of hym .andy theze Was ketWene hem nomore but a couztyne /and than he ſayd make an ende of your euyl langage leſt the kyng heze you · for

the courtyne heeryth you wel y nough. than as touchyng to the paynes that they ought to suffre paciently/ Valerius reherceth that a tyraunt dyd to torment Anamaxymenes and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tunge. to whom he sayd hit is not in thy power to do so, and forthwith he bote of his owne tongue, and chewid hit wyth his tethe and caste hit in the vysage of the tyraunt. hit is a grete vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc-cions of wronges. hit is better to leue a gylty man vn-punysshed. than to punysshe hym in a wrath or yre, Valerius rehercith that archyta of tarente that was mays-ter to plato sawe that his feldes and landes were destroy-ed and lost by the necligence of his seruaunt, to whom he sayd ys I were not angry with the I wolde take venge aunce and turmente the. lo there ye may see that he had leuer to leue to punysshe, than to punysshe more by yre & wrath than by right. And therfore sayth seneque, do not thyng that thou oughtest to doo whan thou arte angrye For whan thou art angry thou woldest do alle thynges after thy playsir/ and yf thou canst not vaynquysshe thyn yre. than must thyn yre ouercome the. After thys ought they to haue wylful pouerte 'lyke as hit was in the aun-cient prynces. For they coueyted more to be riche in wytte and good maners thenne in money 'And that rehercith Valerius in his viij book that Scyppyon of affryque was accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grete tresour. And he answerd certes whan I submysed Affrique in to your poeste. I helde no thyng to my sels that I myght say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique. Ner

the affriquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder ony auaryce / ner that we were so couetouse that we hadn ne had gretter enuye to be riche of name than of richesses Andn therfore sayth Seneque that the kyngn altagone vsyd gladly in his hows vessels of erthe / Andn somme sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit was bet-ter and more noble thynge to shyne in good maners than in vasseyll / And whan sōme men demaunded hym why & for what cause he dydn so / he answerd I am now kyngn of Secylle . and was sone of a potter / andn for as moche as I doubte fortune / for whan I yssued out of the hows of my fader and moder . I was sodaynly maad riche / wherfore I beholde the natyuyte of me and of my lignage / whiche is humble andn meke. and al these thynges cometh of wyl ful pouerte / For he entendedn more to the comyn proffyt than to his owen . Andn of this pouerte speketh Saynt Augustyn in the book of the cyte of godn that they that entende to the comyn proffyt . sorowe more that wylful pouerte is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by the wylful pouerte was the renomee of good maners kepte entierly / thus by this richesse pouerte is not onely corrupt in thyse dayes ner the cyte ner the maners / But also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetise and by felonye that is worse than ony other enemye / and of the cruelte of the peple of rome speketh the good man of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome in the decretal the sixte in the chappytre gens scā where he sayth / that they ben felons ayenst god / contrarye to holy thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous . to her

neyghbours. proud vnto straungers. rebell and vntrewe vnto their souerayns, not suffryng to them that been of lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaūde thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreable whan they haue receyued the yefte. they haue theyr tongues redy for to make grete boost. and do lityl, they ben large in promy syng and smale gyuers, they ben right fals deceyours, and right mordent and bytyng detractours. For whiche thingz hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylite the pacy=ence. and the good wysdom that was wonte to be in this cyte of rome whiche is chyef of al the world & is peruer ted and torned in to maleheurte & thyse euylles. And me thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken ensaumple of them to do euyl, They may say that this is after the decretale of seygnorye andz dysobeysaunce, that sayth. that suche thynges that the souerayns do. is lightly and sone taken in ensaumple of theyr subjettis. also thyse vycayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that suche peple as serue them ben duly payd and guerdoned of her la bour. For euery man doth his labour the better & light=lyer whan he seeth that he shal be wel payed and rewarded And we rede that titus the sone of vaspasian was so large and so lyberal. that he gaf & promysed sumwhat to euery man. and whan his most preuy frendes demaundedz of hym why he promysed more thenne he myght gyue, He answerdz for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prynce that ony man sholdz departe sorowful or tryste fro hym, Than hit happend on a day that he gaf ner promysedz no

thyng to ony man / and Whan it Was euen and aduysed hym self he sayd to his frendes. O ye my frendes thys day haue I lost for this day haue I don no good. and also We rede of Julius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle hys lyf to hys knyghtes goo on + but alWey he sayd come come. For I loue alWey to be in your companye / And he kneWe Wel that it Was lasse payne and trauaylle to the knyghtes Whan the prynce is in her companye that loueth hem & comforteth hem. and also We rede of the same Julyus cesar in the book of truphes of philosophers / that there Was an auncient knyght of his that Was in parelle of a caas hangyng tofore the Juges of rome so he callyd cesar on a tyme and sayd to hym tofore al men that he shold be his aduocate. And cesar delyuerydd and assygned to hym a right good aduocate. and the knyght sayd to hym / O cesar I put no Vycayr in my place When thou Were in paryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the. & than he sheWyd to hym the places of his Woundes that he had receyued in the bataylle. and than cam cesar in his propre persone for to be his aduocate and to plete his cause for hym. he Wold not haue the name of Vnkyndenes. But doubted that men shold say that he Were proude + and that he Wold not doo for them that had seruyd hym / they that can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes. can not loue the knyghtes. & this suffiseth of the rookes

The iij tractate of the offices of the comyn peple· the first chappitre is of the offyce of the labourers & werkmen ca j

Or so moche as noble persones can not rewle ne go f uerne without the seruyse and werke of the people Than hit behoueth to deuyse the oultrages and the offyces of the werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the first pawn that is in the playe of the chesse. & signifieth a man of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pictons that is as moche to say as footmen, And thenne we wyl begynne at the pawn whyche standeth tofore the rooke on the right syde of the kyng. For as moche as thys pawne apperteyneth to serue the vycayre or lyeuetenaunt of the kyng and other officers, vnder hym of necessaries

of Bytaylle / and this maner of peple is figured & ought be maad in the forme and ſhape of a man holdyng in his right hond a ſpade or ſhouel . and a wodde in the lyft hand the ſpade or ſhouel is for to delue and labour therWyth the erthe . and the wodde is for to dryue and conduyte Wyth al the beſtys Vnto her paſture / alſo he ought to haue on his gyrdel a ſarpe or cowkyd hacket for to autte of the ſuperfluytees of the Vignes and trees / And We rede in the bible that the firſt labourer that euer Was. Was caym the firſt ſone of adã that Was ſo euyl that he ſleWe his broder abel For as mocke as the ſmoke of his tithes Went ſtrayt Vn to heuen / and the ſmoke and fume of the tithes of caym Went douny Ward Vpon the erthe . and hoW Wel that thys cauſe Was treWe . yet Was theze another cauſe of enuye that he had Vnto his broder / For When Adam theyr fadez maryed them for to multeplye the ezthe of his ligne / he Wold not mazye ner Joyne to gydez the tWo that Were borne attones . but gaf Vnto caym her that Was born With abel . and to abel her that Was borne Wyth caym . & thus he gan thenuye that caym had ayenſt abel / For hys Wyf Was fayrer than cayms Wyf / and for this cauſe he ſleWe abel Wyth the chekebone of a beſte / And at that tyme Was neuer no maner of ywn blody of mannes blood . And Abel Was the fyrſt martir in the olde teſtament . and thys ſayd caym dyd many other euyl thynges Whiche I leue / for it apeztayneth not to my mater . but it behoueth for neceſſyte that ſome ſhold labouze the ezthe / after the ſynne of adam / for tofore or adam ſynned / therthe brought forth fruyt Without labour of handes but ſithe he ſynned

hit muſt nedes ſe labouzed With the handes of men / & for as mocke as the erthe is moder of al thynges /and that We Weze firſt fozmed & took ouz begynnyng of the ezthe/ the ſame Wyſe at the laſt/ ſhe ſhal ſe the ende Vnto al Vs & to al thynges . & god that formed Vs of the erthe. hath ordeyned that by the labour of men ſhe ſhold gyue nouryſ= ſhyng Vnto al that lyueth /& firſt the labourer of thezth ought to knoWe his god that formed & made heuen & ezthe of nought/and ought to haue loyalte & trouth in hym ſelf and deſpiſe deth foz to entende to his labour +and ſe ought to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of Whom ſe zeceyueth al his goodes temporal/ Wherof his lyf is ſuſtey ned . and alſo ſe is bounden to paye the diſmes & tythes of al his thynges . and not as cayn dyd . but as abel dyd of the beſte that ſe cheſe out alWey for to gyue to god and to pleſe hym /for they that grutche and be greued in that they rendre & geue to god the tienthes of her goodes/ they ought to be aferd and haue drede that they ſhal falle in neceſſyte / And that they myght be deſpoylyd oz robbyd by Warze or by tempeſt that myght falle oz happen in the contray / And hit is no merueylle though hyt ſo happen/ For that man that is diſagreable Vnto god/and Weneth that the multeplyengh of his goodes temporel cometh by the Vertu of his owne counceyl and his Witte /the Whiche is made by the only ordenaunce of hym that made al /and by the ſame ordenaũce is ſone taken aWey fro hym that is diſagreable . & hit is reſon that Whan a man habounded by fortune in goodes / & knoWith not god by Whō it cometh. that to hym come ſōme other fortune by the Whiche ſe may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god/& we rede of the kyng dauyd that was first ſimple & one of the comyn peple that whan fortune had enhaunced & ſette him in grete eſtate. he left & forgate his god/& fyl to aduoultrie & ho= mycide & other ſynnes/than anone his owne ſone abſalon aſſaillid & began to perſeute hym/& than whan he ſawe that fortune was contrarye to hym/he began to take ageyn his vertuous werkis and requyred pardon & ſo retorned to god agayn. We rede alſo of the children of yſrael that were nygh enfamyned in deſert & ſore hungry & thruſty that they prayed & requyred of god for remedye. anone he chaunged his wille & ſent to hem mâna & fleſſh. & whan they were replenyſſhed & fatte of the fleſſh of beſtes & of the manna they made a calf of gold & worſhipped hit. whiche was a grete ſynne & inyquyte. for whan they were hongry they knewe god. & whan theyr belies were filled & fatted. they forgid ydolles & were ydolatzeres. after this euezy labou zer ought to be faithful and trewe/that whan his maiſter delyuereth to hym his lande to be labouzed/that he take no thyng to hym ſelf but that he ought to haue & is his. but laboure truly and take cure & chazge in the name of hys mayſtre/ and do more diligenly hys mayſters labours than his owen/ for the lyf of the moſt gzete & noble men next god lieth in the handes of the labouzers/and thus al craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to ſuffiſe to thē only. but to ỳ comyn. & ſo it happeth oft tyme that the labouzer of the ezth vſeth grete & boiſtrous metis/ & bzyn geth to his maiſter more ſubtile & more deyntious metes. And valerius reherith in his ſixt book that ther was a

Wyse and noble maistre that was named anthonius that was accusid of a caas of auoultry. & as the cause henge tofore the Juges / his accusers or denonciatours brought a labourer that closid his lande for so moche as they sayd whan his mayster went to do the aduoultrye / this same seruaunt bare the lanterne/wherof Anthonius was sore abasshid + & douted that he shold depose agaynst hym / But the labourer that was named papirion said to his maister that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Juges /for to be tormentid /his cause shold neuer be enpeyred by hym ner no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth wherof he shold be noyed or greuyd /& than was the labourer beten & tor: mentid & brent in many places of his body. but he sayd ne uer thyng wherof his maister was hurt or noyed / but the other that accused his maister were punysshed / & papirion was delyuerd of his paynes + & also tellith valerius that there was another labourer that was named penapion/ that seruyid a maister whos name was themes which was of meruaillous faith to his maister .for hit befel that cer teyn knyghtes cam to his maisters hows for to sle hym / & anone as penapion knewe hit + he went in to his maisters chambre/& wold not be knowen/for he did on his maysters gowne & his rynge on his fingre, & lay in his bedde /and thus put hym self in parelle of deth for to respyte hys maysters lyf + But we see now a dayes many fooks that daigne not to vse grose metis of labourers + and flee the cours clothyng and maners of a seruaunt / Euery wyse man a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free and not bonde + but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde +

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is broken in conſcience by pryde . Enuye . or by couetyſe is right ſeruy tude yet they ought not to doubte to laboure . for fere and drede of deth no man ought to loue to mocke his lyf/ For hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the enuye of his lyf / and a Wyſe man and a ſtronge man ought not to fle for his lyf . but to yſſue . for there is no man that lyueth .but he muſt nedes dye/& of this ſpeketh claudyan and ſaith that al tho thynges that the ayer goth about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the erthe laboureth Al thynges that ben conteyned Within the ſee/al thynges that the flodes bringe forth /alle thynges that ben nouriſſhed .& al the beſtes that ben Vnder the heuen ſhal deporte alle from the Worlde . and al ſhal goo at his cõmaũdement as Wel kynges prynces and al that the Worlde enuyronneth and goeth about . alle ſhal goo this Way / Than he ought not to doubte for fere of deth . for as Wel ſhal dye the ryche as the poure. deth maketh alle thynge lyke and putteth al to an ende . and therof made a noble Verſefyer tWo Verſis Whiche foloWe/ Forma genus mores, ſapiencia res et honores . Morte ruant ſubita ſola manent merita . Whereof the engliſſh is /beaute, lignage maners . Wyſedom. thynges and honoures /ſhal ben defetid by ſodeyn deth . no thyng ſhal abyde but the meritis .& herof fynde We in Vitas patrum that there Was an erle a riche & noble man that had a ſone onely /And Whan thys ſone Was of age to haue knoWleche of the laWe . he herde in a ſermone that deth ſpareth none /& as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde.

And that the deth ought ſpeially to be doubted for thre cauſes / one was that no man knoweth whan he cometh / and the ſecond ner in what ſtate he taketh a man . And the thyrd he wote neuer whether he ſhal goo / therfore eche man ſhold diſpyſe and flee the world and lyue wel and holde hym toward god . and whan this yonge man herde this thyng / he wente out of his contray and fledde vnto a wylderneſſe vnto an hermytage . and whan his fadez had loſte hym he made grete ſowe and dyd do enquere & ſeke hym ſo moche that atte laſt he was founden in the hermytage / And thenne his fader cam theder to hym and ſayd . Dere ſone come from thens / thou ſhalt be after my dethe erle and chyef of my lignage / I ſhal be loſt yf thou come not out from thens / & he than that wyſt none other wyſe to eſchewe the yre of his fader bethought hym and ſayd / Dere fader there is in your contre and lande a right euyll auſtume yf hit pleſe you to put that awey I ſhal gladly come out of this place and goo with you . The fadez was glad and had grete Joye / and demaunded of hym what hit was . and yf he wolde telle hym he promyſed hym to take hit awey and hit ſhold be lefte and ſette a parte / Than he ſayd deze fadez theze dyen as wel the yonge folke as the olde in youz contray . do that awey I praye you / Whan his fadez herde that . he ſayd dere ſone that may not be ner no man may put that awey but god onely / than anſwerd the ſone to the fadez . than wyl I ſerue hym and dwelle here with hym that may do that / And ſo abode the childe in the hermytage and lyued theze in good werkis . after this hit apertayneth to a labourez to entende to his labour

and flee ydelnes/ and thou oughteſt to knowe that dauyd preyſeth mocke in the ſawlter the treWe labourers & ſayth thou ſhalt ete the labour of thyn handes and thou art bleſſyd / and it ſhal doo to the goody . And hit behoueth that the labourer endende to his labour on the Werkedayes for to reuyel and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his labour and alſo he ought to reſte on the holy day . bothe he & hys beſtys / and a good labourer ought to nouſſhe and kepe his beſtys . And this is ſignyfyed by the wode that he hath / Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the paſture . The firſt paſtour that euer Was Was Abel Whyche Was Juſte and treWe / and offrid to god the beſtis Vnto hys ſaczefiſe . and hym ought he to foloWe in craft and maners but no man that Vſeth the malyce of cayn maye enſue & foloWe abel / and thus hit appertayneth to the labourer to ſette and graffe trees and Vignes . and alſo to plante & cutte them / and ſo dyd Noe Whyche Was the firſt that planted the Vygne after the deluge and flood / For as Joſephus recorceth in the book of naturel thynges / Noe Was he that fonde firſt the Vigne . and he fonde hym byt ter and Wylde / and therfore he took four maners of blood that is to Wete the blood of a lyon / the blood of a lamb the blood of a ſWyne . and the blood of an ape & medlid them al to geder Wyth the erthe / And than he cutte the Vigne and put thys about the rotes therof / to thende that the byttirnes ſhold be put aWey / & that hit ſhold be ſWete And Whan he had dronken of the fruyt of thys Vygne . hit Was ſo good & myghty that he becam ſo dronke that he deſpoyled hym in ſuche Wyſe that his pryuy membres

mygbt be ſeen / and his yongeſt ſone cham mocqued and ſkorned hym + and Whan noe Was aWaked and Was ſobre and faſtyng / he aſſembled his ſones and ſheWed to them the nature of the Vygne and of the Wyn + & tolde to them the cauſe Why that he had put the blood of the beſtes about the wte of the Vigne and that they ſhold knoWe Wel that otherWhile by the ſtrengthe of the Wyn men be maad as hardy as the lyon and prous + and otherWhile they be made ſymple and ſhamefaſt as a lambe / & lecherous as a ſWyne and curious and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of ſuche nature that Whan he ſeeth one do a thyng he enfor= ceth hym to do the ſame / and ſo doy many Whan they been dronke / they Wyl meddle them With al offycers and ma= ters that apertayne no thyng to them / and Whan they ben faſtyng & ſobre they can ſcarcely accompliſſhe theyr oWne thynges / and therfore Valerian reherceth that of auncient and in olde tyme Women dranke no Wyn for as moche as by dronkenſhyp they mygbt falle in ony filthe or Vylony and as ouyde ſaith. that the Wynes otherWhyle apawylle the corages in ſuche maneze that they ben couenable to al ſynnes Whyche take aWey the hertes to do Wel · they make the pure + riche as longe as the Wyn is in his heed / and ſhortly dronkenſhyp is the begynnyng of alle euylles. & corrupteth the body / and deſtroyeth the ſoWle & myny ſſheth the goodes temporels / & this ſuffiſeth for the labourers /

The ſecond chappytre of the thyrdy tractate treteth of the forme andy manez of the ſecondy paWne andy of the manez of a ſmyth capitulo ſecundo

He ſecond paWy that ſtondeth toforе the knyght oy t the right ſyde of the kyng hath the forme & fygure of a may as a ſmyth and that is reſon/ for hit apertey: neth to the knyghtes to haue bridlys ſadelkis ſpores and many other thynges maad by the handes of ſmythes and ought to holde ay hamer ỹ his right hond /and ỹ his liſt hande a ſquyer . and he ought to haue oy his gyrdel a two Wel / Foz by this is ſignefyedy alle maner of Werkmey . as goldſmythes . marchallis . Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of ſmythes ben ſignefyed by the maztel oz hamer. The cazpenters ben ſignefyed by the dolabre or ſquyez/and by the twoBel We vnderſtonde al maſons and kezuers of ſtones .tylers and al thoſe that make hoWſes caſtels and toWzes/And vnto al thyſe crafty men /hit apzteyneth that they be tze We. Wyſe and ſtwnge /And hit is nede that they haue in hem ſelf fayth and loyaulte / Foz vnto the goldſmythes behoueth golde and ſyluez and alle othez metallys. yzen and ſteel to othez. and vnto the carpentiezs and ma= ſons ben put to theyr edefyces the bodyes and goodes of the peple /and alſo men put in the handes of the mawners body and goodes of the peple .and in the gazde and ſeWerte of them men put body and ſoWle in the parilles of the ſee And thezfoze ought they to be treWe vnto Whom men com mytte ſuche grete charge and ſo grete thynges vpon ber fayth and truſte. and therfoze ſayth the phyloſopher. He that leſeth his fayth and beleue / may loſe no gretter ne more thynge/and fayth is a ſouerayn good and cometh of the good Wylle of the hezte and of his mynde .and for no neceſſyte Wyl deceyue no man . and is not cozrupt foz no mede. Valerius reherath that fabius had receyued of hanybal certeyn pzyſoners that he held of the romayns foz a certeyn ſome of money Whiche he promyſed to paye to the ſayd hanybal .and Whan he cam vnto the ſenatouzs of rome and deſyred to haue the money lente for hem. they anſWerd that they Wold not paye nor lene/and than ffabius ſent his ſone to rome and made hym to ſelle hys heritage and patzymonye . and ſent the money that he

receyued therof vnto hanybal. and had leuer and louyd better to be poure in his contrey of heritage / than of beleue and fayth / But in thyse dayes it were grete folye to haue suche affyaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben preuyd afore / for oftentymes men truste in them by whom they ben deceyuyd at theyr nede / and it is to wete that these crafty men and werkmen ben soueraynly profytable vnto the world / and without artificers and werkmen the world myght not be gouerned / and knowe thou verily that alle the thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the see · ben maad and formed for to do profyt vnto the lignage of man. For man was formed for to haue gene: racion / that the men myght helpe and profyt eche other / And here in ought we to folowe nature / For she sheweth to vs that we shold do comyn profyt one to another. and the first fondement of Justice is that no man shold noye ne greue other · but that they ought do the comen profyt For men say in reproche. that I see of thyn. I hope it shal be myn / but who is he in thyse dayes that entendeth more to the comyn profyt than to his owne / expreynly none but alwey a man ought to haue drede and fere of his owne hows / whan he seeth his neyghbours hows a fyre. And therfore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt / for men otherwhyle sette not by a lytyl fyre & myght quenche hit in the begynnyng / that afterward maketh a grete blasyng fire & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as for to torne & werke alwey / & nature is so noble a thyng that where as she is she wyl sustayne and kepe. but thys reble of nature hath faylled longe tyme. How wel that

the decree ſaith that alle the thynges that ben ayenſt the lawe of nature ought to be taken awey and put a parte / And he ſayth tofore in the viij diſtincion that the ryght lawe of nature defferenceth ofte tymes fro auſtom & ſtatutes eſtabliſſhyd / For by lawe of nature al thyng ought to be comyn to euery man / and thys lawe was of olde tyme. and men wene yet ſpeaally that the twians kept this lawe .and we rede that the multitude of the twians was one herte & one ſoule · and verayly we fynde that in tyme paſſid the philoſophres dide the ſame. And alſo it is to be ſuppoſid that ſuche as haue theyr goodes comune and not propre is moſt acceptable to god. ffor ellis wold not thyſe religyous men as monkes freres chanons obſeruantes and al othez auowe hem and kepe the wylful pouerte that they ben profeſſyd to · For in trouth I haue my ſelf ben conuerſaunt in a religious hous of whyt freres at gaunt whiche haue al thyngs in comyn among them .and not one richer than another in ſo muche that yf a man gaf to a frere iij d oz iiij d to praye for hym in his maſſe / as ſone as the maſſe is doy he delyuereth hit to his ouereſt oz prouuatour in whiche hous ben many vertuous and deuout frēs / and yf that lyf were not the beſt & the moſt holyeſt · holy chirche wold neuer ſuffre hit in religyon / And accordyng therto we rede in plato whiche ſayth that the cyte is wel and juſtly gouerned and ordeyned in the which no man may ſay by right, by auſtome ne by ordenaū e .thys is myn .But I ſay to the certeynly that ſythen this auſtome came forth to ſay this is myn . and this is thyn . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt ſo

moche as his owne . and al werkmen ought to be wyse & wel aduysed so that they haue none enuye ne none euyll suspecion one to another / For god wyl that our humayn nature be couetous of two thynges /that is of religyon & of wysedom ,but in this caas ben sōme often tymes decey / ued , For they take often tymes religyon & leue wysedom & they take wysedom & refuse religyon /And none may be veray and trewe wyth out other + for it apperteyneth not to a wyse man to do ony thyng that he may repente hym of hit ,and he ought to do no thyng ayenst his wylle ' But to do al thyng nobly·meurely,fermely & honestly/ & yf he haue enuye vpon ony ,hit is folye/for he on whom he hath enuye is more honest and of more hauoyr than he whiche is so enuyous ' For a man may haue none enuye on another .but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more grace than hym self /for enuye is a sorowe of corage that cometh of this ordenaūce of the prouffyt of another man and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble .and more fortunat than hym self /and saith alwey to hym self that man wynneth more than I /and myn neyghbours haue more plente of bestes / and her thynges multeplye more than myn ,and therfore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is / For she tormenteth hym that hath her within hym ,wythout tor: mentyng or doyng ony harme to hym . on whom he hath enuye /And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self For he corrumpeth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alwey the welthe and vertues of other/And thus ought they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspecion. for a man naturelly whan his affeccion hath suspecion in ony man that he weneth that he doth. hit semeth to hym very ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to haue suspecion on hym self/For we rede that dyonyse of zecyle a tyraunt. was so suspecious that he had so grete fere and drede. for as moche as he was hated of alle men/ that he put his frendes out theyr offyces that they had and put other straungers in their places for to kepe his body/and chese suche as were right cruel and felons/ and for fere & doubte of the barbours. he made his doughters to lerne shaue and kembe, and whan they were grete, he wold not they shold vse ony yron to be occupyed by them but to brenne and senge his heeris/and menaced them and durst not truste in them. And in like wyse they had none affyaunce in hym. and also he did do enuyronne the place where he lay wyth grete dyches and brode lyke a cas= tel. and he entrid by a drawe bridge whiche closid after hym. and his knyghtes laye wythout wyth his gardes whiche watched and kept straytly thys forteresse, & whan plato sawe thy said dionyse kyng of zecille thus enuy= roned and sette about wyth gardes and watchemen for the cause of his suspescion/sayd to hym openly tofore alle men kynge why hast thou don so moche euyl and harme, that the behoueth to be kept wyth so moche peple/& therfore I say that it apperteyneth not to ony man that wylle tru ly behaue hym self in his werkes to be suspecious/ & also they ought to be stronge and seure in theyr werkys/and

ſpeáally they that ben mayſters and mawnners on the ſee, ffor yf they be tumewous and ferdful they ſhold make aferde them that ben in theyr ſhippis /that knowe not the parilles . and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede and fere al men ſhold leue theyr labour /and ſo they myght be periſſhed and diſperyd in theyr orages . For a ſhype is ſoon periſſhed and loſt by a litil tempeſt /Whan the gouernour faylleth to gouerne his ſhype for drede / and can geue no counceyl to other /thenne it is no mezuayle . though they be aferde that ben in his gouernaunce . And therfore ought to be in them ſtrengthe . force and orage and ought to conſidere the parils that myght falle . and the gouernour ſpeáally ought not to doubte /and yf hyt happyn that ony paril falle /he ought to promyſe to the other good hoop . and hit apertayneth Wel /that a man of good and hardy orage be ſette in that office . in ſuche Wyſe that he haue ferme and ſeure mynde ayenſt the parylles that oft tymes happen in the ſee . and Wyth this ought the mawnners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in god . and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage Vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche parellys /And thys ſuffyſeth to you as touchyng the labourers .

The thyrd chappytre of the thyrd book treteth of the office of notaries aduocates ſkryuenars and drapers or cloth makers capitulo tercio

The third pawn which is ſette tofore the alphyn on t the right ſyde ought to be fygured as a clerke/ and hit is reſon that he ſholde ſo be / for as mocke as emonge the comune peple of whom we ſpeke in this boke they plete the differences contencions and cauſes other whyle the whiche behoueth the alphyns to geue ſentence and Juge as Juges / and hit is reſon that the alphyn or Juge haue his notarye / by whom the proceſſe may be Wreton. And this pawn ought to be maad and figured in this manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right hand a payr of sheris / or forcettis /and in the lyfte handꝫ a grete knyf and on his gurdel a pennez an ynk horn + and on his eere a penne to Wryte With 'andꝫ that been the Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte in Wrytyng autentique ·andꝫ ought to haue passydꝫ tofore the Juges as libelles Writes condempnacions & sentences and that is signefied by the scripture andꝫ the penne/and on that other parte hit aperteyneth to them to cutte clothe sheze + dyght and dye + and that is signefyed by the for: cettis or sheris ,and the other ought to shaue berdis andꝫ kembe the heeris + and the other ben coupers + coryers 'ta: Wyers /skynners bouchers ,and kordWanners + and these ben signefyed by the knyf that he holdeth in hys handꝫ + & sōme of thyse forsaydꝫ crafty men been named drapers or clothmakers for so moche as they Werke With Wolle + and the notaries skynnars Coryours and cordWaners Werke by skynnes and hydes + as perchymyn Velume ,peltrie and cordeWan ,and the tayllours cutters of cloth /Weuars + fullars , dyers + andꝫ many other craftes ocupye and Vse Wulle + and al thyse crafty men & many other that I haue not named ought to do theyr craft and mestier. Where as they ben duly ordeynyd curiously andꝫ treWly 'Also there ought to be amonge thyse crafty men amyable companye andꝫ treWe honest countenaunce / Andꝫ trouthe in theyr Wordes / Andꝫ hit is to Wete that the notaryes ben ryght prouffytable andꝫ ought to be good and treWe for the co: myn + And they ought to kepe them from appropryyng to them self that thyngꝫ that aperteyneth to the comyn ,

And yf they be good to them self / they ben good to other and yf they be euyl for them self / they ben euyl for other And the proœsses that ben maad tofore the Juges ought to ben Writen and passyd by them + And it is to Wete that by their Writyng in the proœsses may come moche prouffit And also yf they Wryte otherWyse than they ought to do may ensewe moche harme and domage to the compy / Therfore ought they to take good hede that they chaunge not ne corumpe in no Wyse the content of the sentence / for than ben they first forsWorne / and ben bounden to make amendis to them that by their trecherye they haue endomaged / and also ought they to rede Visite & to knoWe the statutes / ordenaunces & the laWes of the citees of the contre Where they dWelle and enhabite . and they ought to conside ze yf there be ony thyng therin conteyned ayenst right & reson . and yf they fynde ony thyng contrarie . they ought to admoneste & Warne them that gouerne . that suche thynges may be chaunged in to bettre estate / for custume estaBlisshed ayenst good manerz and ageynst the fayth . ought not to be holden by ryght / For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chappytre tofore / all ordenaunce maad ayenst right ought to be holden for nought / Alas Who is noW that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the compyn prouffyt or as moche as his oWen + but alle drede of god is put aback . And they deceyue the symple men / & draWen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne them to sWere and make othes not conuenable / and in assemblyng the peple thus to gyder they make mo traysons

in the cytees thenne they make goody alyaunces. And otherWhile they deceyue theyr ſouerayns / Whan they may do hit couertly / For there is no thyng at this day that ſo mocke greueth rome and Italie as doth the college of notaryes and aduocates publique / for they ley not of one accorde. Alas and in Engelond What hurte doon the aduocates men of laWe and attorneyes of court to the co= myn peple of the royame as Wel in the ſpirituel laWe as in the temporalle. hoW torne they the laWe and ſtatutes at theiz pleſure / hoW ete they the peple / hoW enpoueze they the comynte / I ſuppoſe that in alle cryſtendom are not ſo many pletazs attorneys and men of the laWe as ben in englond onely. for yf they Weze nombrid alle that longe to the courtes of the chaunſerye. kynges benche. comyn place. chekez / reſſayt / and helle / and the bagge lewzs of the ſame / hit ſhold amounte to a grete multitude. And hoW al thyſe lyue and of Whom / yf hit ſhold be vttrid and tolde / hit ſhold not be beleuyd for they entende to theyr ſyn guler Wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn / hoW Wel they ought to be of good Wyl to gydez. And admoneſte & Wazne the cytees eche in his right in ſuche Wyſe that they myght haue pees and loue one Wyth another. & Tullyus ſaith that frendſhyp and goody Wylle that one ought to haue ayenſt another for the Wele of hym that he loueth. Wyth the ſemblable Wylle of hym / ought to be put forth tofore al othez thynges. & ther is no thyng ſo reſemblyng and lyke to the bees that makey hony ſo couenable in proſperite and in aduerſite as is loue. For by loue gladly the bees holdey them to gydez.

and yf ony treſpace to that other anone they renne vpon the malefactour for to punyſſhe hym . and verray trewe loue faylleth neuer for wele ne for euyl / and the moſt ſwete & the moſt comfortyng thyng is for to haue a frend to whō a may may ſay his ſecret as wel as to hym ſelf / but verayly amytye and frendſhyp is ſometyme founded vpon ſōme thyng delectable . and this amytie cometh of yongthe in the which dwellith a diſordynate hete / & otherwhile amytie is founded vpon honeſte / and this amytie is vertuous / of the whiche tullyus ſaith that there is an amytie vertuous by the whiche a may ought to do to his frende al that he requyreth by reaſon / for to do to hym a thyng diſhoneſt it is ayenſt the nature of verray frendſhyp & amytye And thus for frendſhyp ne for fauour a may ought not to doo ony thyngꝫ vnreſonable ayenſt the comyn prouffyt ner ageynſt his fayth ne ageynſt his othe / For yf alle tho thynges that the frendes deſyre and requyre were accompliſſhed and doyn / hyt ſholde ſeme that they ſholde be dyſhoneſte coniuracions / And they myght otherwhyle more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde / And hewf ſayth Seneque that Amytye is of ſuche wylle as the frende wylle . And to refuſe that ought to be refuſed by reaſon. And yet he ſaith more that a may ought to alowe & preiſe his frend tofore the peple / & to correcte & to chaſtyſe hym pryuely / for the lawe of amytie is ſuche . for a man ought not to demaunde ner do to be doyn to his frende no vylayns thyngꝫ that ought to be kept ſecrete And Valerian ſayth that it is a foulee thynge and an euyl excuſacion . yf a may confeſſe that he hath doyn ony

euyl for his frende ayenſt right and reaſon / And ſayth that there was a good man named taſſyle Whiche herde one his frende requyre of hym a thynge diſhoneſte Whiche he denyed & wold not do / & than his frende ſaid to hym in grete deſpyte /What nede haue I of thy frendſhip & amytee Whan thou wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the. & taſſile anſwerd to hym. What nede haue I of the frēdſhip & of the amyte of the. yf I ſhold do for the thyng diſhoneſt and thus loue is founded otherwhile. Vpon good prouffy table / & this loue endureth as longe as he ſeeth his prouf= fyt. and hereof men ſay a comyn prouerbe in englond / that loue laſteth as longe as the money endurith / & Whan the money failleth than there is no loue / & Tarro rehercith in his cōmes / that the riche men ley al louyd by this loue. for their frendes ben like as the huſke Whiche is about the grayn. and no man may proue his frende ſo wel as in ad uerſite / or Whan he is poure. for the veray trewe frende fay leth at no nede / & ſeneque ſaith that cōme folowe the empe= rour for riches / & ſo don the flies the hony for the ſweetenes & the wolf the carayn. And thyſe compayne folowe the praye / and not the man. And Tullyus ſayth that tar quyn the proud had a neuewe of his ſuſter Whiche was named brutus and this neuewe had banyſſhed tarquin out of rome and had ſent hym in exyle. And than ſayd he fyrſt that he perceyued and knewe his frendes Whyche were trewe and vntrewe. & that he neuer perceyued afore tyme Whan he was puyſſaunt for to do theyr wylle / & ſayd wel that the loue that they had to hym / endured not but as longe as hit was to them prouffytable.

and therfore ought al the riche men of the World take hede
le they kynges prynces or duckes to What peple they doo
prouffyt and hoW they may and ought le louyd of theyr
peple . For cathon sayth in his book /see to Whom thou
geuest . & thys loue Whiche is founded Vpon theyr prouffit
Whiche fayleth and endureth not / may better le callid and
sayd marchaundyse than loue / for yf We repute this loue
to our prouffyt onely . & no thyng to the prouffyt of hym
that We loue / it is more marchaundyse than loue / for le
byeth our loue for the prouffyt that le doth to Vs / And
therfore sayth the Versefier thyse tWo Versis . Tempore fe:
lici multi numerantur amici / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus erit . Whiche is to say in englissh that as longe
as a man is eWous and fortunat le hath many frendes
but Whan fortune torneth and perissheth / there abydeth not
to hym one frende . and of thys loue len loued the medo:
Wes / feldes / trees & the lestys for the prouffyt that men
take of them / but the loue of the men ought to le charite
Veray gracious and pure by goody fayth / And the Veray
treWe frendes ley knoWen in pure aduersite. And piers
alphons sayth in his book of Moralite that there Was a
philosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of Whom
le demaunded What frendes le hady goten hym in his lyf
And le anserd that le had many / and his fader sayd to
hym . I am an olde man and yet coude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf / and I troWe Verely that it is no
lytyl thyng for to haue a frende / and hit is Wel gretter &
more a man to haue many / and hit apertayneth and leho
ueth a man to assaye and preue his frende or le haue nede

and thenne cõmaunded the philoſopher his ſone ·that he ſhold goo and ſlee a ſwyne /and put hit in a ſacke/ and ſayne that it were a man dede that he had ſlayn and beze hit to his frendes for to burye hit ſeczetly /And whan the ſone had don as his fadez cõmaunded hym and had requyred his frendes one after anothez as afore is ſayd / they denyed hym and anſwerd to hym that he was a bylayne to requyre and deſize of them thyng that was ſo perilous ·And than he came agayn to his fader and ſayd to hym how he had zequyred al his frendes .And that he had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his nede / And than his fadez ſayd to hym that he ſhold goo and zequyre his frende whyche had but one + and zequyze hym that he ſhold helpe hym in his nede .and whan he had requyred hym /Anone he put out al his mayne out of hys hows .and whan they weze out of the waye or a ſlepe + he dyd do make ſeczetly a pytte in the gwounde /and whan hit was zedy and wold haue buryed the body /he founde hit an hogge or a ſwyne and not a man /and thus this ſone preuyd this man to be a veray trewe frende of his fader And preuyd that his frendes weze fals frendes of fortune / And yet zehezceth the ſayd piezs Alphons +that there were two marchauntes one of bandach and that other of Egypt whiche were ſo ioyned to geder by ſo gzete frendſhyp that he of bandache cam on a tyme for to ſe his frende in Egypt of whom he was reœyuyd right honuurably/ And this marchaunt of Egypt had in his hows a fayre ponge mayden whom he ſhold haue had in maryage to hym ſelf / Of the whiche mayde thys marchaunt of

landach was espysed with her loue so ardantly that he was right seek / and that men supposid hym to dye. And than the other dyd do come the phisisiens whiche sayd that in hym was no sekenes sauf passyon of loue / Thenne he ayyd of the seek may yf there were ony woman in hys hows that he loued and maad al the women of his hows to come tofore hym / And than he chees her that sholde haue ben that others wyf and sayde that he was seek for her. Thay his frende sayd to hym. frende comforte your self / for trewly I gyue her to you to wyf with alle the do: waire that is gyuen to me with her. and leuer to suf fre to be with out wyf than to lese the body of his frende / And than he of landach wedded the mayde. And went with his wyf and with his richesse ageyn in to his contre And after this anone after hit happend that the mar: chaunt of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune. that he was constreyned to seche and legge his breed / by the con: tray in so mocke that he cam to landach / and whan he entrid in to the toun hit was derk nyght that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende / But went and lay thys nyght in ay olde temple / And on the morne whan he sholde yssue out of the temple / the offycers of the toun arestyd hym and sayde that he was ay hompade and had slayn a man whiche lay theze dede / And anone he confessid hyt with a good wylle. and had leuer to ben hangyd. than to dye in that myserable and poure lyf that he suffryd. And thus whan he was brought to Jugement. and sentence sholde haue ben gyuen ayenst hym as ay hompade. His frend of landach cam and sawe hym and anone knewe that thys

Was his good frende of egypte · And forthwyth stepte in and sayd that he hym self was culpable of the deth of this man . and not that other/ and enforsed hym in alle maners for to delyuer and eyause that other /And than whan that he that had won the feet and had slayne the man sawe this thyng/he considered in hym self that these two men were innocent / of thys feet . And doubtyng the dyuyne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessyd al the feet by ordre /And whan the Juge sawe and herde al thys matez and also the causes he considered the ferme and trewe loue that was betwene the two frendes /and vnderstood the cause why that one wold saue that other and the trouth of the fayte of the homycide . And than he pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the marchaunt of bandach brought hym of egipt wyth hym in to his hows /And gaf to hym his sister in mariage /and departed to hym half his goodes . and so bothe of hem were riche / and thus weze they bothe tway faythful and trewe frendes . Furthermoze notaries / men of lawe & crafty men shold and ought to loue eche other/and also ought to be contynent chaste and honeste/ For by theyr crafftes they ought so to be by necessyte . For they conuerse and accompanye them ofte tyme wyth women / And therfore hit apertyneth to them to be chaste and honeste /And that they meue not the women noz entyse them to lawghe and Jape by ony dysordynate ensignes oz tokenes /Titus liuius reherceth that the philosopher democzeon dyd do put out his eyen for as mocke as he might not beholde the women wyth out flesshly desyre / And how wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet was this one of the pryncipal causes · And valerian tellyth that there was a yong man of rome of right excellent beaulte And how wel that he was right chaste .for as moche as his beaulte meuyd many women to desire hym, in so moche that he vnderstood that the parentes and frendes of them hadꝫ suspecion in hym, he dyd his vysage to be kutte wyth a knyf and lancettis endlongꝫ andꝫ euerthwart for to deforme his vysage .and had leuer haue a fowle vysage and disformed .than the beaute of his vysage sholdꝫ meue other to synne /And also we rede that there was a Nonne a virgyne dyd do put out bothe her eyen· For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kyngꝫ to loue her, whyche eyen she sente to the kyngꝫ in a present .And also we rede that plato the right ryche phylosopher lefte his owne lande and contre . and chase his mansion and dwellyng in acha domye a toun, whiche was not onely destroyedꝫ but also was ful of pestelence, so that by the cure andꝫ charge and customaũce of sorowe that he there suffrid .myght eschewe the hetes andꝫ occasions of lecherye /Andꝫ many of hys dysciples dydꝫ in lyke wyse / helemand reherceth that demostenes the philosopher laye ones by a noble woman for his dysporte, and playengꝫ wyth her, he demaundedꝫ of her what he shold geue to haue to doo wyth her / and she answerd to hym a thousand pens .& he saydꝫ ageyn to her I sholdꝫ repente me to bye hit so dere .and whan he aduysed hym that he was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accomplisshe his flesshly desyre . he despoyled hym al nakyd and wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe / Andꝫ

Ouyde rehercith that thys thynge is the leste that maye helpe and most greue the louers /and therfore saynt augustyn rehercith in his book de ciuitate dei that there was a right noble romayn named Marculian that wan and took the noble cite of Siracuse / And tofore er he dyd doo assayle hit or befight hit / & or he had do beshedde ony bloody he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite / and that was for the cause that he doubted that his peple sholdy defoule and corumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the toun .and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man sholdy be so hardy to take and defoyle ony woman by force what that euer she were . After thys the crafty men ought to vnderstonde for to be trewe + and to haue trouth in her mouthes / And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes + For he that sayth one thyng and doth another / he condempneth hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that they be of one accorde in goody / by entente / by word, and by dede . so that they be not discordaunt in no caas / But that euery man haue pure verite and trouth in hym self . For god hym self is pure verite / and men say comynly that trouth seketh none hernes ne corners + and trouth is a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put awey / Men saye trewly whan they say that they knowe . And they that knowe not trouthe . ought to knowe hyt, And alwey vse trouthe + for saynt austyn sayth that they that wene to knowe trouth . and lyueth euyl and vyciously it is folye yf he knoweth hit not/and also he sayth in another place that it is better to suffre payn for trouth/ than for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye . And man

that is callyd a beste reſonable and doth not his Werkys after reſon and trouthe. is more beſtyal than ony beſte brute + and knowe ye that for to come to the trouthe, hit cometh of a reſonable forſight in his mynde + And lyeng cometh of an oultrageous and contrarie thought in hys mynde, for he that lyeth Wittyngly, knoweth Wel that hit is ageynſt the trouthe that he thynketh, and herof ſpeketh ſaynt bernard and ſayth. that the mouth that lyeth deſ: troyeth the ſowle. and yet ſayth ſaynt auſtyn in another place. for to ſay one thynge and do the contrarye, maketh doctryne ſuſpecious. And knowe ye verily that for to lye is a right perilous thynge to body and ſowle / For the lye that the auncient enemye maad eue and Adam to beleue hym, made hem for to be dampned With alle their lignage to the deth pardurable / and made hem to be caſt out of paradyſe terreſtre / For he maad them to beleue that god had not forboden them the fruyt / but onely by cauſe they ſhold not knowe that her mayſter knewe / but how Wel that the deuyl ſayd thyſe Wordes / yet had he double entente to hem bothe / For they knewe anone as they had taſtyd of the fruyt that they Were dampned to the deth pardurable. And god knewe hit Wel tofore. but they ſuppoſid Wel to haue knowen many othere thynges / and to be lyke vnto his knowleche and ſcience. And therfore ſaith ſaynt poule in a piſtyl. hit ne appertayneth to ſauer or knowe more than behoueth to ſauer or knowe / but to ſauer or knowe by meſure or ſobrenes / And Valerian reherſith that there Was a good Woman of ſirmauſane that Wold not lye vn to the kyng of Scalle Whyche Was named dyonyſe + and

this kyng was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle the world desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this wo man onely whiche was so olde that she had seen iij or four kynges reignyng in the contre. and euery mornyng as sone as she was rysen she prayed to god that he wold gyue vnto the tyraunt good lyf and longe, and that she myght neuer see his deth / And whan the kyng dyonyse knewe this he sent for her, and meruaylled moche herof / for he knewe wel that he was sore behated ' and demaũded her. What cause meuyd hyr to praye for hym ' & she answerd and sayd to hym. sir whan I was a mayde we had a right euyl tyraunt to our kyng of whom we coueyted sore the deth ' and whan he was dede there came after hym a werse ' of whom we coueyted also the deth. and whan we were delyuerd of hym. thou camest to be our lord which art worst of al other. and now I doubte yf we haue one after the he shal be worse than thou art / and therfore I shal praye for the, and whan dyonyse vnderstood that she was so hardy in sayeng the trouth ' he durst not do torment her for shame by cause she was so olde.

The fourth chappitre of the third book tretith of the maner of the fourth pawn & of the marchaũtis or chaũgers ca iiij

The fourth pawn is sette tofore the kyng .and is t formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right hand a balaunce and the weyght in the lyft hand . and to fore hym a table/and at his gurdel a purse ful of money redy for to geue to them that requyred hit .and by thys peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth lynnen and wollen /and of al other marchaundyses , and by the table that is tofore hym is sygnefyed the chaungers +and they that lene money/ & they that bye and selle by the weyght ben signefyed by the balaunces /and weyghtes/And the

auſtomers/tollars /and receyuours of rentes & of money ben ſignefyed by the purſe · and knowe ye that alle they that ben ſignefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and couetyſe /and eſchewe brekyng of the dayes of payment & ought to holde and kepe theyr promyſes · & ought alſo to rendre and retore that · that is gyuen to them to kepe / & therfore hit is reſon that this peple be ſet tofore the kyng for as moche as they ſignefye the receyuours of the tre ſours ryal that ought alwey to be redy tofore the kyng. & to anſwer for hym to the knyghtes and to other perſones for theyr wages and ſouldyes / & therfore haue J ſaid that they ought to flee auarice · For auarice is as moche to ſay as an adourer or as worſhypar of fals ymages / and hewf ſayth tullyus that auarice is a couetiſe to gete that thyng that is aboue neceſſite / and it is a loue diſordynate to haue ony thyng/ & it is one of the werſt thynges that is & ſpecially to prynces & to them that gouerne the thynges of the comunete . and this vyce cauſeth a man to do euyll and thys doyng euyl is whan hit zeygneth in olde men /& hewf ſayth Seneque · that all worldly thynges ben mortefyed and appetiſſed in olde men reſeruyd auarice onely whyche alwey abydeth with hym and dyeth with hym / But J vnderſtonde not wel the cauſe whewf this cometh ne wherfore hit may be , And hit is a fowle thyng and contrarye to reſon · that whan a man is at the ende of his Jourmey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vitayl than hym behoueth /& this may wel be likned to the auaricious wolf · for the wolf doth neuer good tyl he be dede / and thus it is ſayd in the prouerbys of the wyſe men

that thauaricious man doth no good tyl that he be deedy. and he desireth no thynge but to lyue long in thys synne/ for the couetous man certeynly is not good for ony thyng for he is euyl to hym self & to the riche & to the poure. and fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr desire, & herof rehercith seneque & sayth that antigonus was a couetous prynce, & whan tynque whiche was his frende requyred of hym a besaunt / he answerd to hym that he demaũded more than hyt apperteynedy to hym/ & than tynque constrayned by grete necesite axid & requyredy of hym a peny/ & be answerdy to hym that it was no yefte couenable for a kyng. and so he was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue. For he myght haue gyuen to hym a besaunt as a kynge to his frende, and the peny as to a poure man. & ther is no thyng so litil /but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hyt/ auarice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luxurye & Josephus rehercith in the book of aũcient histories, that ther was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne /and was of the most noble of rome. right honest for the noblesse of chastite / whiche was maryedy in the tyme that the wommen glorefyedy them in theyr chastyte vnto a yonge man /fayr. noble. andy riche aboue al other. & was lyke and semblable to his wyf in al caasis. Andy thys pawlyne was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian andy was so ardantly esprised in her loue that he sent to her many right riche yeftes, and made to her many grete promyses / but he myght neuer torne the herte of her which was on her syde also colde andy harde, as marbyll, But she hady leuer to refuse his yeftes andy hys promyses.

Thay to entende to couetyſe and to loſe her chaſtyte / & We
zede alſo in the hiſtories of wme that there Was a noble
lady of wme Which lyued a ſolitarye lyf & Was chaſte &
honeſte . & had gadred to gedez a grete ſōme of golde . and
had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte Wyth in her hoWs / & Whan
ſhe Was deed / the biſſhop dyd do burye her in the chirche Wel
and honeſtly / and anone after this gold Was foūden and
lory to the byſſhop / and the biſſhop had to caſte hit in to the
pytte Where ſhe Was buryed. & thre dayes men herd her crye
& make grete noyſe / & ſay that ſhe brenned in grete payn
and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir-
che . the neyghbours Went Vnto the byſſhop & tolde hym
thewf / & the biſſhop gaf hem leue to open the ſepulcre . &
Whan they had openyd hit they fonde al the golde molten
With fire ful of ſulphre & Was pouzed & put in her mouth
& they herd one ſay . thou deſizedeſt this gold by couetyſe .
take hyt and drynke hyt / And thenne they took the
body out of the tombe / And hit Was caſt out in a preuy
place . Seneque rehezath in the booke of the cryes of
Women that auarice is foundement of alle Vyces / And
Valerian reherath that auarice is a ferdful garde or kepar
of richeſſis . for he that hath oy hym or in his kepyng
moche money or othez richeſſis . is alWey aferd to loſe hit
or to be robbid or to be ſlayn therfore . & he is not eWrous
nez happy that by couetiſe getith hit / & al the euyls of this
Vice of auarice had a may of wme named ſeptenulle / for
ſhe Was a frend of one named tarchus / & this ſeptenulle
brent ſo ſore & ſo cruelly in this ſynne of couetiſe . that he
had no ſhame to ſmyte of the hede of hys frend by trayſon

For as moche as one framoſian had promyſed to hym as moche weyght of pure gold as the heed wayed . & he bare the ſaid heed vpon a ſtaf thurgh the ate of rome + and he voyded the bruyn out therof & filled hyt ful of leed for to weye the heuyar, this was a right horrible & cruel auarice Ptolome kyng of egipciens pourſeued auarice in another manere. for whan anthonie emperour of rome ſawe that he was right riche of gold & ſiluer/ he had hym in grete hate & tormentid hym right cruelly/ and whan he ſhold periſſh by cauſe of his richeſſis . he toke al his hauoir & put hyt in a ſhippe/ & went with alle in to the hye ſee to thende for to drowne & periſſh there the ſhippe and his richeſſes by cauſe anthonye his enemye ſholde not haue hit, & whan he was there he durſt not periſſhe hit ner myght not fynde in hys herte to departe from hit . but cam & brought hit agayn in to his hows where he receyued the reward of deth therfore & with out doubte he was not lord of the richeſſe but the richeſſe was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is ſayd in prouer be that a man ought to ſeignorie ouer the riches, & not for to ſerue hit . yf thou canſt dewly vſe thy richeſſe than ſhe is thy chamberer . & yf thou can not departe from hit & vſe hit honeſtly at thy pleſure. knowe verily that ſhe is thy lady /for the riches neuer ſatiſfyeth the couetous /but the more he hath the more he deſireth / & ſaluſte ſaith that auarice deſtroubleth fayth /peſte/ honeſte & al thiſe other goody vertues / And taketh for thyſe vertues / pryde /cruelte and to forgete god . and ſayth that al thynges be vendable And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not. to moche ner make ſo grete creaũces by whiche they may

falle in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith vpon thoby. pouerte hath no lawe / for to owe hit is a shame / & to owe and not paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou borowest. & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf thou be riche thou hast no nede to borowe & aye. & it is said in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wylt not ner mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is saydn in reproche whan I lene I am thy frende / & whan I aye I am thyn enemye. as who saith 'god at the lenyng' & the deuyll atte rendryng. & seneke saith in his auctorites / that they that gladly borowe 'ought gladly to paye. & ought to surmoûte in corage to loue hem the better by cause they lene hem & ayde hem in her nede. for benefites & good tornes don to a man, ought to gyue hym thankynges therfore, andn moche more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in his nede. but now in these dayes many men by lenyngn of their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & herof speketh domas the philosopher & saith that my frende borowed money of me / & I haue lost my frende & my money / there was a marchaût of gene & also a chaungeour whos name was albert ganor / & this albert was a man of grete trouth andn loyalte. for on a tyme there was a man cam to hym andn sayd and affermydn that he hadn delyuerydn in to his banke v hondred floryns of gold to kepe / whiche was not trouth for he lyed. whiche v C floryns the sayd albert knewe not of, ner coude fynde in al his bookes ony suche money to hym due, & this lyar coude brynge no wytnes. but began to braye. crye & deffame the said albert / & than this albert callydn to hym this marchaunt and sayd

dere frende take here V hondred florens Whiche thou affer-
meſt & ſayeſt that thou haſt delyuerd to me . & forthWyth
tolde hem and toke hem to hym · & lo this good man had
leuer to loſe his good than his good name and renome .
and this other marchaunt toke theſe florens that he had
Wrongfully receyued .and enployed them in dyuerſe mar-
chaundyſe in ſo moche that he gate and encreſid and Wan
With them .x. V thouſaud florens /and Whan he ſaWe that
he approched toWard his deth · and that he had no childrey,
he eſtabliſſhed albert his heyr in al thynges /& ſayd that
With the V hondred florens that he had receyued of albert
falſely , he had goten alle that he had in the World /& thus
by deuyne purueaūce he that had be a theef fraudelent, Was
maad afterWard a treWe procutour & atorney of the ſayd
albert /but noW in thyſe dayes there be marchaūtis that do
marchaundiſe With other mennis money Whiche is taken
to hem to kepe . & Whan they ben requyred to repaye hyt,
they haue no ſhame to denye hit apertly/ Wherof hit happēd
that ther Was a marchaūt Which had a good & a grete na-
me & renome of kepyng Wel ſuche thynges as Was de-
lyuerd to hym to kepe .but Whan he ſaWe place & tyme , he
retteyned hit lyke a theef . ſo hit befel that a marchaūt of
Without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man ,
cam to hym & delyuerd hym grete treſour to kepe / & thys
creſour abode iij yere in his keppyng / & after this thre yere
thys marchaunt came and requyred to haue his good de-
lyuerd to hym agayn · And thys man kneWe Wel that he
had no recorde ne Witnes, to preue on hym this duete / nor
he had no obligacion ne Wrytyng of hym therof.

In ſuche Wyſe that he denyed al entierly / and ſayd playn ly he kneWe hym not . and Whan this good man herd and Vnderſtood this . he Went ſoroWfully and Weppyng fro hym ſo ferre and longe that an olde Woman mette Wyth hym · and demaunded of hym the cauſe of his Weppyng · and he ſayd to her Woman hit apertayneth no thyng to the goo thy Waye / And ſhe prayed hym that he Wold telle her the cauſe of his ſoroWe / For parauenture ſhe myght geue hym counſeyl good and proffytable / and thenne this man tolde to her by ordre the caas of his fortune / and the olde Woman that Was Wyſe and ſubtil demaunded of hym yf he had in that cite ony frende Whiche Wold be faythful and treWe to hym / and he ſayd ye. that he had dyuerſe frendes . Than ſayd ſhe goo thou to them and ſaye to them that they doo ordeyne and bye dyuerſe cofres and cheſtes . And that they doo fylle them Wyth ſome olde thynges of no Va lue / & that they fayne & ſay that they be ful of golde ſiluer and other JeWels . and of mocke grete treſour / & thenne that they brynge them to thys ſayd marchaunt / & to ſay to hym that he Wold kepe the . for as mocke as they had grete truſt in hym / & alſo that they haue herd of his grete trouth & good renome / & alſo they Wold go in to fer contre / and ſhold be longe ere they zetorned agayn / & Whilis they ſpeke to hym of this mater / thou ſhalt come Vpon them & requyre hym that he doo delyuer to the · that thou tokeſt to hym · & J troWe by cauſe of tho good men that than ſhal proffre to hym the ſayd treſour / and for the couetiſe to haue hit / he ſhal delyuer to the thy good agayn / but keWare late hym not knoWe they ken thy good frendes ner of thy knoWlecke

This was a grete and good counceyl of a woman /and verily it cometh of nature ofter tymes to women to geue counceyl shortly and vnaduysedly to thynges that ben in doubte or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye . and as ye haue herd . this good man dyde . and dide after her counceyl . and came vpon them whan they spack of the mater to the marchaunt for to delyuer to hym the sayde cofres to kepe whiche his frendes hade fayned and requyred of hym that he had taken to hym to kepe/and than anone the sayd marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nowe wel . for I haue aduysed me that thou art suche a man /and cameste to me suche a tyme / and delyuered to me suche a thynge whiche I haue wel kept ,and thenne callyd his clerk and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a place and delyuer hit to that good man / for he delyuerd hit to me / and than the good man receyuyde his goode ,and went his waye right Joyously and glad.and this marchaunt trichour & deceyuour was defrauded from his euyl malice. and he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that was of value . and therfore hit is sayde in prouerbe to defraude the begilez is no fraude/and he that doth wel foloweth our lorde /and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and techeth that men shold paye wel /for good payement is somtyme good confessyon /And this marchaunt trichour and deceyuour resembleth and is lyke to an hound that bereth a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth ouer a water / for whan he is on the watre . he seeth the shadowe of the chese in the watre/and than he weneth hit be another chese & for couetyse to haue that.he openyth his mouth to catche

that / & than the chese that he bare fallith doun in to the Wa
tre · and thus he loseth bothe two / & in the same Wyse Was
seruyd thys marchaũt deceyuour / for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had seen / he delyuerd agayn that he Woldn
haue holden Wrongfully · and thus by his couetise & propre
malyce he Was deceyuedn · andn therfore hit apperteyneth
to euery goodn andn Wyse man to knoWe and considere in
hym self hoW moche he hath receyued of other men · & vpon
What cõdycion hit Was delyuerd to hym / and it is to Wete
that thys thyngn apperteyneth to receyuours and to chaun
geours · andn to alle treWe marchauntis andn other What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theyr bookes of
resaytes and of payementes of Whom and to Whom & What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyngn makyth
them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I ansWer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho
thynges to them self and neuer to departe from them, and
hit is alle her thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete · for they beleue on none other godn /
But on her richesses theyr hertes ben so obstynat · and this
suffyseth of the marchauntes ·

The fifthe chappitre of the thyrd book treteth of physi-
ciens medecynes spycers and appotiquaries capitulo v

The pawn that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
t the physicien/spicer apotiquare+and is formed in the
fygure of a man /and he is sette in a chayer as a maistre
and holdeth in his right hand a book and an ample or a
boye with oynementis in his lyft hand/and at his gurdel
his instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Inci-
sions and to serche woundes and hurtes.and to cutte apos
tumes. And by thyse thynges ben knowen the surgyens
By the book ben vnderstonden the phisiciens and all gra
mariens. logyciens / maysters of lawe/of geometrye,

arsmetrique. musique and of astronomye /and by the am pole ben signefyed the makers of pygmentaries spicers & apotiquaries / and they that make confeccions and confi tes and medecynes maad wyth precious spyce /And by the fferremens and Instrumentis that hangen on the gurdel ben signefyed the Surgyens and the maysters and knowe ye forcerteyn that a maystre and physicyen ought to knowe the proporcions of lettres of gramayre. the monemens the conclucions and the sophyms of logi que /the gracious speche and vtteraunce of rethorique, the mesures of the houres and dayes. and of the cours of astronomye. the nombre of arsmetrique.and the ioyous songes of musique. and of al thyse tofore named / the maysters of rethorique ben the chyef maysters in specula tyf. and the two last that ben practiciens and werkes ben callyd physiciens and surgyens, how wel they ben sage and curious in thyse sciences. and how wel that mânys lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or surgyen /yf he haue not sagesse and wysedom in hym self of dyuerse wrytynges and is not expert, and medlyth hym in the craft of physique /he ought better be callyd a slear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen. For he may not be a maystre but yf he be sewre and expert in the craft of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh hoole /and therfore sayth auycenne in anforysme, yf thou curest the seek man. And knowest not the cause. wherof the maladye ought to be cured. hit ought to be sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and happe more than by ony kunnyng. And in al thyse maner of people

ther ought to be meurte of good maners / curtosie of Wor-
des / chastite of the body promysse of helthe + and as to them
that been seek contynuel Vysitacion of them + & they ought
to enquere the cause of theyr sekenessys and the sygnes
and tokens of theyr maladyes as is rehercid in the bookes
of the auctours by right grete dyligence, and specially in
the bookes of ypocras galiene and of auycene, and Whan
many maysters and phisiciens ben assemblid tofore the
pacient or seke man. They ought not there to argue and
dispute one agaynst another / but they ought to make
good and symple colacion to geder in suche Wyse as they
be not seen in theyr dysputyng one agaynst another. for
to encroche and gete more glory of the World to them self
than to trete the salute and helthe of the pacient and seek
man. I meruaylle Why that Whan they see and knowe
that Whan the seek man hath grete nede of helthe. Wherfore
than they make gretter obieccion of contrariousnes for
as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge
them / but hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and
Wyse that argueth and bryngeth in most subtiltees /
And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that
tretith no thyng of mannes lyf / but of temporel thynges
that he is holden most Wyse and best lernedy / that by hys
counceyl can best accorde the contencions and dyssencions
of men / and therfore ought the phisiciens and surgyens
leue Whan they be tofore the seek men al discencions and
contrariousnes of Wordes + in suche Wyse that hit appere
that they studye more for to cure the seek men than for to
despute / And therfore is the phisicien duly sette tofore

the quene .so that it is figuredꝫ that he ought to haue in hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit apperteyneth som tyme vnto the phisicien to vysite and cure quenes duchesses countesses andꝫ alle other ladyes ⁊ see and beholde sōme secrete sekenessis that falle and come otherwhile in the secretis of nature. And therfore hit aperteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste and chastyte/ andꝫ that they be ensaumyle to other of good contynence. For valerian rehercith that ypocras was of meruayllous contynence of his body. For whan he was in the scoles of athenes, he had by hym a right fayr woman whiche was comyn / andꝫ the yongꝫ scolers andꝫ the Joly felawes that were students promysedꝫ to the woman a besaunte yf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypocras for to haue to doon wyth her / andꝫ she came to hym by nyght andꝫ dydꝫ so moche by her craft that she laye wyth hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that she myght corumpe his chaste lyuyng ne defoule the crowne of his conscience. andꝫ whan the yonge men knewe that she hadꝫ ben wyth hym al the nyght. ⁊ coude not chaunge his contynence. they began to mocque her / andꝫ to aye ⁊ demaunde of her the besaunt that they hadꝫ geuen to her. And she answerdꝫ that hit was holden andꝫ gagedꝫ vpon an ymage / for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys contynence she callydꝫ hym an ymage / and in semblable wyse rehercith valeryan of Scenocrates phylosopher that there lay wyth hym a woman alle nyght andꝫ temptedꝫ hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man .made neuer semblaunt to her / ner he neuer remeuydꝫ from hys

ferme purpos/ in ſuche Wyſe as ſhe departed from hym al confuſed and ſhamed / Cornelius ſapion that Was ſent by the romayns for to gouerne ſpayn, as ſone as he entrid in to the caſtellys and in to the toWnes of that londe. he Began to take aWeye al tho thynges that myght ſtere or meue his men to lecherye. Wherfore men ſayd that he drof and chaſed out of the hooſt moo than tWo thouſand hour dellys and he that Was Wyſe kneWe Wel that delyte of lecherye corupted and apayred the corages of tho men that ley abandoned to the ſame delyte /And hewf it is ſayd in the fables of the poetes in the firſt book of the truphes of the philoſophres by figure / that they that entrid in to the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens /Were corumped and they took them aWey Wyth hem / And alſo ye ought to knoWe that they ought to entende dylygently to the cures of the infirmytees in cyrurgerye / they ought to make theyr plaiſtrys acordyng to the Woundes of ſoores yf the Wounde be wunde the enplaſtre muſt be wunde. and yf hit be longe hit muſt be longe /And otherWhyle hit muſt be cured by his contrarye. lyke as it apertayneth to phiſique. for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete and Joye by ſorWe and ſorWe by Joye and hit happeth ofte tymes that mocke peple be in grete paſſe in takyng to mocke Joye and leſe her membris and become half renomen in the ſodeyn Joye, and ioye is a repleccion of thynge that is delectable ſpred a brode in alle the membres Wyth right grete gladnes. and al men entende and deſyre to haue the ſayd right grete Joye naturelly / but they knoWe not What may enſue & come therof/ and this Joye cometh

otherWhile of Vertue of conſcience /And the Wiſe man is not Wyth out this ioye /and thys Joye is neuer interrupt ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and fortune may not take aWey that nature geueth/ & marcial ſayth that Joyes fugetyues abyde not longe / but fle aWey anone ·and Valerian zeheraith that he that hath force and ſtrengthe reſonable . hath hit of verray matier of cōpleccōn and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as mocke poWer to departe the ſoWle fro the body · as hath the thondre Wherof hit happend that there Was a Woman named lyna Whiche had her huſbond in the Warre in the ſhyppys of the romayns ·and ſhe ſuppoſid verayly that he Was deed but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he entrid in to his yate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym ſodaynly not Warned of his comyng/Whiche Was ſo gladde and Joyous that in enbracyng hym ſhe fyl doun deed / alſo of another Woman to Whom Was reported by a fals meſſangez that her ſone Was deed .Whiche Went hoom ſowufully to her hoWs·and afterWard Whey her ſone came to her/as ſone as ſhe ſaWe hym ſhe Was ſo eſmoued Wyth Joye that ſhe deyed tofore hym ·but this is not ſo grete meruayle of Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened vnto ſofte Waxe or ſofte ayez/and therfore ſhe is callyd Mulier Whiche is as mocke to ſaye in latyn as mollis aez and in engliſſh ſofte ayer/and hit happeth ofte tymes that the nature of them that ben ſofte and mole.taketh ſoner Inpreſſyon than the nature of men that be rude & ſtronge Valerie zeheraith that a knyght of rome named inſtaulo: ſus that had neWly cōquerid & ſubdued the yle of corſika

and as he sacrefyed his goodes / he receyuyd lettres from the senate of Rome in Whiche Were conteyned diuerse supplicacions / the Whiche Whan he vnderstood he Was so glad and so enterpused Wyth Joye . that he kneWe not What to do / and than a grete Fume or smoke yssued out of the fire in Whiche he dispaynd and fyl in to the fyre / Where he Was anone deed / And also it is sayd that phylomenus laWghed so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al laWghyng And We rede that ypocras the phisicien fond remedye for thys Joye , For Whan he had long dWelled out of hys contrey for to lerne kunnyng and Wysedom . and shold zetorne vnto his parentis and frendes / Whan he approchyd nygh them . he sent a messangez tofore for to telle them his comyng / and cõmaunded hym to saye that he cam / for they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they shold attempre them in that Joye or they shold see hym , And also We rede that titus sone of vaspasian Whan he had conquerd Jherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde that his fadez vaspasian Was chosen by al the senate for to gouerne the empyre of rome / Wherfore he had so right grete ioye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membris and became al Inpotent . And Whan Josephus that made the historye of the romayns ayẽst the JeWys . Whiche Was a right Wyse phisicien saWe and kneWe the cause of this se kenes of the sayd titus . he enquyred of his folke yf he had in hate ony may gretely so mocke that he myght not here speke of hym ne Wel se hym . and one of the sezuauntes of tytus sayd that he had one perſone in hate so mocke , that ther Was no may in his courte so hardy that durst name

hym in hys presence. & than Josephus assigned a day whā this man shold come, & ordeyned a table to be sette in the sight of titus, & did hit to be replenysshed plētously wyth al dayntees, & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suche wyse that no man shold hurt hym by the cōmaūdement of titus, & ordeyned boutelers, cokes, & other officers for to serue hym worshipfully like an emperour. and whan al this was redy, Josephus brought in this man that titus hated & sette hym at the table tofore his eyen and was seruyd of yong men with grete reuerence right curtoisly. & whan titus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym with so grete honour. he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and cōmaūded his men that this man shold be slayn, & whan he sawe / that none wold obeye hym / but that they alwey seruyd hym reuerently / he waxe so ardant. and enbracid wyth so grete yre. that he that had lost al the force & strengthe of his body and was al Impotent in alle his membrys. recouerd the helth agayn and strengthe of hys membris by the hete that entryd in to the vaynes and synewes, And Josephus dyd so moche that he was recouerydn and hoole / And that he helde that man no more for hys enemye / But helde hym for a veray trewe frende. And afterward maad hym his loyal felowe & companyoun. And the espycers and apoticaries ought to make trewly suche thynges as is cōmaunded to them by the phisiciens & they ought taccomplisse their billes & charge curiously with grete diligence. that for none other cause they sholdn be ocupied but in makyng medecynes or confeccōns trewly & that they ought vpon paryl of their sowle not to forgete

by neglygence ne recheleſnes to gyue one medecyne for an other /in ſuche Wyſe that they be not ſleazs of men · And that they doo put no falſe thynges in her ſpices for to en payre or encrecyng the Weyght for yf they ſo do they may better be callyd theuys than eſpicers or apoticaries / And they that ben acuſtumed to make oynementis they ought to make it properly of treWe ſtuffe and of good odoure after the receptes of the auncient doctours . and after the forme that the phiſicians and ſurgiens deuyſe Vnto them alſo they ought to be Ware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they ought haue /that they put in theiz medecynes no thyng Venemous ne dyng hurte or ſcathe to ony perſone of Whom they haue no good ne Verray knoWleche / to thende that they to Whom the medecynes ſhold be geuen / tozne not to them huzt ne domage / ne in deſtruccons of theiz neygh bours / & alſo that they that haue mynyſtrid tho thynges to them . ben not taken for parteners of the blame and of the ſynne of them / The ſuzgyens ought alſo to be de= bonayz / amyable / and to haue pyte of theyz pacients · and alſo they ought not be haſty to launce & cutte apoſtumes & ſoores . ne open the heedes · ner to azrache bones broken . but yf the cauſe be apparant . For they myght ellys loſe theyr goody renomee · And myght better be callyd bou= chers thenne helars or guazyſſhours of Wounded and ſo= res / And alſo hit behoueth that alle thys maner of pe= ple a foze ſayd that haue the charge for to make hoole and guariſſhe alle manez of maladyes and Infizmytees that they firſt haue the aure of them ſelf · and they ought to purge them ſelf from alle apoſtumes and alle Byces

in ſuche wyſe that they be net and honeſte & enformed in al good maners . and that they ſhewe hem hole and pure & redy for to hele other . and hewf ſayth boecius de conſolacione in his firſt book that the ſterres that ben hyd vnder the clowdes may gyue no light · And therfore yf ony man wyl beholde clerely the verite, late hym withdrawe hym fro the obſcurete and derknes of the cloudes of ygnorãce for whan the engyne of a man ſheweth in ioye or in ſorow the penſee or thought is enuoluped in obſcurete and vnder the clowdes .

The ſixte chapitre of the thyrd book treteth of the ſixte payn whiche is likenyd to tauerners hoſtelers and vytayllers capitulo vj

The sixte pawn whiche stondeth tofore the alphyn
t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is
a man that hath the right hond stratched out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his lift honde a loof of breed
and a cuppe of wyn . and on his gurdel hangyng a bondel
of keyes / and this resemblith the tauerners · hostelers / &
sellars of vytayl . and thyse ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphyn / as tofore a Juge / For there sourdeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . whyche
behoueth to be determyned & trayted by the alphyn . whiche
is Juge of the kyng / and hit apperteyneth to them for to
seke and enquere for good wynes good vytayl for to
gyue and selle to the byars · and to them that they herbe=
rowe . And hit aperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herberowes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they
brynge in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte in seu=
re and sauf warde and kepyng . And the first of them
is signefyed by the lyfte hand in whyche he bereth breed
and wyn . And the second is signefyed by the right
hand whiche is stratched out to calle men / and the thyrd
is representyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdel / and
thyse maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo=
tonye / For moche peple come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete / for whyche cause they ought reso=
nably to rewle them self and refrayn them from to
moche mete and drynke · to thende that they myght the
more honestly delyuer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that
come vnto them / & no thyng by outrage that myght noye
the body · For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye. tencions/ſtryfs/ riottes. Wronges & moleſtacõns by Whiche men leſe otherWhyle theiz handes/theyz eyen and othez of theyz membꝛis/ and ſomtyme ben ſlayn oz hurte vnto the deth as it is Wreton in Vitas patrum. as on a tyme an hezmyte Went for to vyſite his goſſibs. & the deuyl apeꝛid to hym on the Wey in likenes of another hez= myte for to tempte hym. & ſaid thou haſt left thyn hermy= tage/& goeſt to viſite thy goſſibs/the behoueth by foꝛce to do one of the iij thynges that J ſhal ſay to the/thou ſhalt cheſe Whether thou Wolt be dronk. oz elles haue to do fleſſh lye With thy goſſyb/oz elles thou ſhalt ſlee hez huſbond Whiche is thy goſſib alſo. & the hezmyte that thought foz to cheſe the leſte euyl chaſe foz to be dronke/ and Whan he cam vnto them he dranke ſo moche that he Was veray dronk and Whan he Was dronke and eſchauffyd With the Wyn. he Wold haue a do With his goſſyb/& hez huſbond Withſtood hym/& than the hezmyte ſleWe hym. & aftez that laye by his goſſyb & kneWe hez fleſſhly. & thus by this ſynne of dronkenſhyp he accompliſſhed the tWo other ſynnes/ By Whiche thyng ye may vnderſtonde and knoWe that Whan the deuyl Wyl take one of the caſtellys of Jheſu Cꝛyſt. that is to Wete the body of a man oz of a Woman/he doth as a prynce that ſetteth a ſiege tofore a caſtel that he Wold Wynne. Whyche entendeth to Wynne the gate. Foz he knoWeth Wel Whan he hath Wonne the gate. he may ſone do his Wylle Wyth the caſtel/ And in lyke Wyſe doth the deuyl Wyth euezy man and Womman/ Foz Whan he hath Wonne the gate/ that is to Wete the gate of the mouthe by glotonye oz by ony other ſynne.

ſe may do Wyth the offyces of the body al his Wylle as ye haue herd tofore / & therfore ought euery man ete & drynke ſobrely in ſuche Wyſe as ſe may lyue / & not lyue to ete glotonſly & for to drynke dronk/ye ſe comunely that a grete hole is ſuffiſid With right a litil paſture. & that one Wode ſuffiſeth to many olephauntes. hit behoueth a man to be fedde by the erthe or by the ſee / neuertheles it is no grete thyng to fede the bely. no thyngh grete as is the deſire of many metes Wherof Quyntilian ſaith/that hit happeth ofte tymes in grete feſtes & dyners. that We be fylled With the ſight of the noble and lichowous metis & Whan We Wold ete We bey ſaciat and fylled / & therfore it is ſayd in prouerbe. hit is bettir to fille the belye than the eye. & lucan ſaith that glotony is the moder of al Vyces / & eſpeciall of lecherye/ & alſo is deſtroyar of al goodes / & may not haue ſuffyſaunce of lytil thynge. ¶ couetous hongir What ſeeſt thou mete and Vytayllis on the lande and in the ſee. & thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playntrous dyſſhes & Wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene theyr lyf Wyth litil thynge. and cathon ſaith in no Wyſe obeye to glotonye Whiche is frende to lecherye / & the holy doctour ſaynt auguſtyn ſayth. the Wyn eſchauffith the bely that falleth anone to lecherye/the bely and the membris ben neighbours to lecherie. & thus the Vice of glotonye prouoketh lecherye. Wherof cometh forgetenes of his mynde and deſtruccion of alle quyck and ſharpe reaſon / ¶ And is cauſe of diſtemperaunce of his Wyttes. What ſynne is foWlez than this ſynne & more ſtynkyng ne more dōmageous, for this ſynne hath taken aWey the Vertu of man

his prowesse languysseth · his vertue is torned to diffame the strengthe of body and of corage is torned by the, and therfore saith Vasilly la graunt, late vs take hede howe we serue the bely and the throte by glotonye like as we were domke bestys, and we studye for to be lyke vnto belues of the see, to whom nature hath gyuen to be alwey enclyned towardy the erthe · & therto loke for to serue theyr belyes · & herof sayth / Boecius de consolacione · in his fourth book · that a man that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a man · may neuer be in good condicion / than must hit nedes be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a belue of the see, how wel that right grete men and women ful of meruayllous saences and noble counceyl in thyse dayes in the world be norisshed in this glotonye of wynes and metes / & ofte tymes bey ouerseen · how suppose ye · is hit not right a perilous thyngh that a lord or goueznour of the peple and comyn wele how wel that he be wyse / yf he eschauffe hym sone so that the wyn or other drynke surpryse hym & ouercome his brayn / his wisedom is lost · for as cathon sayth / Ire enpesscheth the corage in suche as he may not kepe verite and trouth, & anone as he is chauffid lecherye is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherye makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse vylayns dedes, for than his wysedom is a slepe and goon · & therfore sayth ouyde in his book de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dyuerse wynes · they appayryle and enforce the corages to be cherye · And thobye wytnessyth in his book that luxurie destroyeth the body and mynysscheth ryches sys · she loseth the sowle · she febleth the strengthe she blyndeth the syght

and maketh the voys hoors and rawe+ ha a right euyl & foule synne of dronkenshyp / by the perisshith virgynyte whiche is suster of aungellis possedyng al goodnes and seurte of al Joyes pardurable. Noe was one tyme so chauffyd wyth wyn that he discouerd and shewid to his sones his preuy membris in suche wyse as one of his so=nes mocqued hym / and that other couerd hem + and loth whiche was a man right chaste. was so assoted by moche drynkyng of wyn. that on a mounteyn he knewe hys doughters carnelly / and had to doo wyth them as they had ben his propre wyues / and Crete rehercith that Goece whiche was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / synguler hous of sapyence / myrrour of the worldy, odour of goody renomee / and glorie of his subgettis lost al thise thynges by his luxurie. we haue seen that dyuerce that were Joy=ned by grete amytie to geder whiles they were sobre. that that one wold put his body in parell of deth for that other and whan they were eschauffid with wyn and dronke / they haue ronne eche vpon other for to slee hem / and sōme haue ben that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas hady not doon saynt John baptist to ben beheded / ne hady the dyner ben ful of glotonye and dronkship. balthazar kyng of babylone hady not been chacedy out of his kyngdom ne be slayn yf he hady be sobre emonge hys peple whom tyrus and dares fondy dronken and slewe hym. The hostelers ought to be wel bespoken and curtoys of wordes to them that they receyue in to theyr lodgyng / For fayr speche & Joyous chiere and debonayr cause men to gyue the hoste=ler a goody name + And therfore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerbe curtoyse langage & wel sayengh is moche worth and coste lytyl / And in another place it is saydh that curtosye passeth beaulte + also for as moche as many parellys / andh aduentures may happen on the wayes & passages to hem that been herberowedh wyth in theyr Innes. therfore they ought to accompanye them whan they departe and enseigne them the weyes andh telle to them the parilles / to thende that they may surely goo theyr vyage & Journey. Andh also they ought to kepe theyr bodyes / theyr goodes. & the good fame and renomee of theyr Innes we rede that Loth whan he had receyuydh the aungellys in to his hows right debonayrly + whiche he had supposid had ben mortal men and straungers / to thende that they shold eskape the disordynate andh vnnaturel synne of lecherye of the sodomytes / by the vertu of good fayth. he sette apart the naturel loue of a fader. & proferdh to them his doughters + whiche were vyrgyns. to thende that they shold kepe them andh defende them fro that villayn & horrible synne Andh knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that been taken & delyuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought to be sauf and yelden ageyn without appayryngh + for the hoste ought to knowe who that entrith in to his hous for to be herberowedh takith hit for his habitacion for the tyme he hym self / and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth wyth hym ben cōmysedh of right in the warde andh kepyngh of the hoste or hostelez / andh ought to be as sauf as they were put in his owne propre hows. and also suche hostes ought to holde seruauntes in theyr hows whiche shold be trewe & with out auarice / in suche wyse that they coueyte not to

haue the goodes of theyr gheſtes /and that they take not awey the prouendez fro theyr horſes Whan hit is gyuen to them /that by thoccaſion therof their horſes periſſhe not ne faylle theyr maiſter Whan they haue nede/and myght falle in the handes of theyr enemyes . For than ſhold the ſeruauntes be cauſe of that euyl · Wherfore their mayſtezs ſholde ſee to, for With out doubte this thyng is Worſe than theefte/ hit happendy on a tyme in the parties of lombardye in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyng in an hoſtelrye Wyth mocke companye .and Whan they had gyuen prouendour to theyr horſes . in the firſt oure of the nyght the ſeruaunt of the hoWs came ſecretly tofore the horſes for to ſtele aWey theyr prouendez /and Whan he came to the lordes hors /the hors caught With his teth his azme and held hit faſt that he myght not eſcape/and Whan the theef ſaWe that he Was ſo ſtrongly holden / he began to crye for the grete payn that he ſuffrd and felte / in ſuche Wyſe that the noble mannys meyne cam Wyth the hoſte / But in no manez /ner for ought they coude doo . they coude not take the theef out of the horſes mouth Vnto the tyme that the neyghbours Whiche Were noyed Wyth the noyſe came and ſaWe hit /and the theef Was knoWen and taken & brought to fore the Juge /and confeſſyd the feet and by ſentence diffynytif Was hanged and loſt his lyf .and in the ſame Wyſe Was another that dyd ſo /and the hors ſmote hym in the Vyſage / that the pzynte of the hors ſhoo & nayles abode euez in his Vyſage /another Was right cruel & Vilaynous fyl at tholouſe /hit happend a yongh man and his fader Went a pylgremage to Saynt James in galice and Were

lodgyd in an hostelrye of an euyl hoost and ful of right grete couetyse in so moche that he desired and coueyted the goodes of the two pylgrymes. and here vpon aduysed hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that the yong man bare. and whan they departed out of theyr lodgyng / he followed after hem and sayd tofore the peple of the court that they had stolen and borne awey his cuppe and the yong man excused hym self and his fader. and sayd they were Innocent of that caas / And thenne they serchyd hem / and the cuppe was founden in the male of the yonge man, and forthwyth he was dampned to deth and hanged as a theef. and thys feet doon. al the goodes that longed to the pylgrym were delyuerd to the hoste as confisqued / And than the fader went forth for to do his pyl gremage. and whan he came ageyn he must nedes come & passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gybet / and as he came he complayned to god and to Saynt James how they myght suffre this aduenture to come vnto hys sone. anone his sone that hyng spake to his fader & said how that saynt James had kept hym wyth out harme / and bad his fader goo to the Juge and shewe to hym the myracle / and how he was Innocent of that fait / and whan this thyng was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was taken doun fro the gybet. and the cause was brought tofore the Juge / and the hoost was accused of the trayson. and he confessyd his trespaas / and sayd he dyd hit for couetyse to haue his good. and than the Juge dampned hym for to be hanged on the same gybet where as the yonge pylgrym was hanged, And that I haue sayd of the

ſeruauntes keyngh men / the ſame J ſay of the Women as chaumberers and tapſters/ for ſemblable caas fyl in ſpayn at ſaynt donne of a chaumberer . that put a cuppe in lyke Wyſe in the ſcrippe of a pylgryme / by cauſe he Wold not haue a do Wyth her in the ſynne of lecherye /Wherfore he Was hanged 'and his fader and moder that Were there Wyth hym Went and dyd her pylgremage·and Whan they came agayn they fonde her ſone kyuyngh / and than they Went & tolde the Juge /Whiche Juge ſayd that he Wold not beleue hit til a cok and an henne Whiche roſted on the fyre Were a lyue and the cok creWe /and anone they began to Weye a lyue and the cok creWe and began to crowe & to paſture. and Whan the iuge ſaWe this myracle / he Went & toke doun the ſone / and made the chaumberer to be taken and to be hanged . Wherfore J ſay that the hoſtes ought to holde no tapſters ne chaumberers / but yf they Were good . meure & honeſte / For many harmes may be falle and come by the diſordenate reWle of ſeruauntes .

The ſeuenth chapitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of ke=
pers of townes/auſtomers & tolle gaderers capitulo vij

The gardes and kepers of atrees ken ſignefyed by
t the ſeuenth pawn Whiche ſtondeth in the lyft ſide to
fore the knyght/and is formed in the ſemblaunce of a
man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in hys
right hand a potte and an elle for to meſure Wyth & ought
to haue on his gurdel a purſe open. and by the keyes ken
ſignefied the kepers of the atrees and townes and comyn
offyces/and by the potte and elle ken ſignefyed them that
haue the charge to Weye and mete and meſure trewely,
and by the purſe keen ſignefyed them that receyue the

coſtumes / tolles / ſcawage, peages. and duetees of the cy-
tees and townes / and thyſe peple ken ſette by right tofore
the knyght and hit behoueth that the gardes & offycers
of the townes be taught and enſeigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquyre how the citees & townes
ken gouerned Which apertyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes. and firſt hit apertyneth that the ke-
pars of the cyte be dyligent / beſy / clere ſayengh and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and wele. as wel in the tyme of
pees as in the tyme of warre / they ought alwey to goo in
the cyte and enquyre of al thynges and ought reporte to
the gouernours of the cyte ſuche thyng as they fynde and
knowe / and ſuche thynge as apertyneth and to the ſeurte
of the ſame. and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
parellys that there be · and yf hit be in tyme of warre they
ought not to open the yates by nyght to no may. And
ſuche men as ben put in this offyce · ought to be of reno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conſcience / in ſuche ma-
nere that they loue them of the cyte or towne / And that
they put to no may ony blame or vylanye With out cauſe
by enuye couetyſe ne by hate / but they ought to be ſory and
heuy When they ſee that ony man ſholde be compleyned on
for ony cauſe / For hit happeth ofte tymes that dyuerce
offycers acauſe the good peple fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben prayſed and to abyde
ſtylle in theyr offyces / and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in Wylle to doo euyl and dyffame
other Wyth out cauſe to grete glorye to hym ſelf / alſo the
kepars and offycers of cytees ought to be ſuche that they

suffre no Wronegs ne Vylonyes tofore the Juges and go
uernours of citees Wythout cause to be doon to them that
ben Innocentes but they ought to haue theyr eyen and re
garde Vnto hym /that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes
of al men / and they ought to drede and doubte hym, With
out Whos grace theyr Watche and kepyng is nought. &
that promyseth to them that doubte hym shal be eWrous
and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in
good. Hit is founden in the histories of rome that them-
perour ffrederik the second dyd doo make a gate of marble
of meruayllous Werk and enteyle in the cyte of capnane
Vpon the Watre that renneth about the same /And Vpon
this yate he made an ymage lyke hym self sittyng in his
mageste and tWo Juges Whiche Were sette, one on the
right side and that other on the lift side. and Vpon the ser
cle aboue the hede of the Juge on the right side Was Wreton
al they entre seurely that Wyl lyue purely. and Vpon the
sercle of the Juge on the lift side Was Wreton /the Vntre-
We man ought to doubte ' to doo thyng that he be put to
pryson fore, and on the sercle aboue the emperour Was
Wreton. I make them lyue in misery 'that I see lyue dis
mesurably, and therfore hit aperteyneth to a Juge to
sheWe to the peple for to drede and doubte to do euyl. and
hyt aperteyneth to the gardes and offycers to doubte the
Juges and to doo treWly theyr seruyces and offyces, &
hit aperteyneth to a prynce to menace the traytours and
the malefactours of right greuous paynes. and herof We
fynde in the auncient histories of cecille that the kyng
denys had a broder Whom he louyd sore Wel / But alWey

Where he went, he made heuy and triste semblaunt / & thus as they went bothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam agan hem two pouze men with glad vysage but in foule habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out of his chaze and receuyd them worshipfully with grete zeuezence / Wherfore his barons were not onely ameruayl-led .but also angry in their corages +not withstondyng fere and drede letted them to demaunde hym the cause / But they made his broder to demaunde the cause and to knowe the certeynte /and whan he had herde his broder say to hym the demaunde/ that he was blessyd and also a kyng whiche was riche and ful of delytes and worshyppes . he demaunded hym yf he wold assaye and knowe the grace and beneurte of a kyng . and his broder answerd ye . and that he desired and requyred hit of hym / And than the kyng cōmaunded vnto alle hys subgettis that they shold obey in al thynges onely vnto his broder . & than whan the ouze of dyner cam + and al thynge was zedy / the broder was sette at the table of the kyng + And whan he sawe that he was seruyd with right noble botelers and other offycers /and he herde the sownes of musique right melodyous . The kyng demaunded hym than . yf he sup-posid that he were beuerous and blessyd . and he answerd I wene wel that I am right blessyd and fortunat / and that I haue wel proued and fele and am expert therof . And than the kyng secretly made to be hanged ouer hys heed a sharpe cuttyng swerde hangyng by an hors here or a sylken threde so smale that no man myght see hit where by hit henge .And whan he sawe his broder put no more

his handꝫ to the table, ne had no more regarde vnto his seruauntes / he sayd to hym why ete ye not · ar ye not bles-sidꝫ / say yf ye fele ony thyngꝫ otherwyse than blessid and wel. and he answerd for as moche as I see thys sharpe swerde hangyngꝫ so subtilly & parilously ouer myn hede I fele wel that I am not blessyd / for I drede that hit sholdꝫ falle on my hede · & thenne dyscouerd the kyngꝫ vnto hem al wherfore he was alwey so heuy cheridꝫ & tryste · For where he was he thought alwey on the swerde of the secrete vengaunce of god. whyche he behelde alwey in his herte, wherfore he had alwey in hym self grete drede, andꝫ ther-fore he worshyppydꝫ gladly the poure peple with gladꝫ vy sage and goodꝫ conscience / And by this sheweth the kyng wel. that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey mery or blessydꝫ / And herof sayth quyntilian that thys drede surmounteth alle other maleurtees and euylles, for it is maleurte of drede nyght and day. Andꝫ it is verite that to hym that is doubtedꝫ of moche peple. so muste he doubte moche / And that lorde is lasse thenne his seruaũ-tes that dredeth his seruauntes, and truly hit is a right sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har dy men ben cõstrayned to lyue in drede, drede causith a man to be besy to kepe the thynges that be cõmysed to hym that they perisshe not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche ferd-ful. both two ben vices. the comyn officers ought to be wyse & wel aduysed in suche wise that they take not of the peple ne requyre no more thã they ought to haue by reson ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more thã the right custume. for they bere the name of a persone

And therfore ought they to shewe them comune to alle men/and for as moche as the byars and sellars haue som tyme moche langage. they ought to haue wyth them these vertues. that is to wete pacience and goodz corage wyth honeste / for they that ben despytous to the comune / been otherwhile had in vylayns despite therfore beware that thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendycants / yf thou wylt come and atteyne to thynges souerayn/ for the Iniu rye that is doon wyth out cause / torneth to diffame hym that doth hit. a Jogheler on a tyme behelde socrates & sayd to hym thou hast the eyen of corumpour of children andz art as a traytre / andz whan his dysciples herde hym, they wold auengyd theyr maister / but he repreuyd hem by suche sentence sayengz / suffre my felawes. for I am he andz suche one as he sayth. by the sight of my vysage, But I refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyngz, this same so crates hym self was chidde & right foule spoken to of hys wyf. & she Imposid to hym many grete Iniuries wyth out nombre, and she was in a place aboue ouer his heed / and whan she had brawled y nough she made her water & pouredz hit on his heed / and he answerd to her no thyngz agayn sauf whan he had dryed and wyped his heed. he said he kne we wel that after suche wynde and thondre sholdz come rayne and watre. And the philosophers blamedz hym that he coude not gouerne two women / that was his wyf and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one cokke go: uerned wel x v hennes. he answerd to them that he was so vsed & acustumed with theyr chidyng that the chidyngis of them ne of straungers dyd hym no greef ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that braWleth or chideth / And in ſuffryng hym thou ſhalt be his Vaynquyſſhour and cathon ſaith Whan thou lyueſt ryghtfully / retche the not of the Wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is ſayd in a comyn prouerbe · he that Wel doth reteheth not Who ſeeth hit . and hit is not in our poWer to lette men to ſpeke . and proſper ſayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes / ner to euyl men tenacons ſtryues & blames . & patience is a right noble Vertu. as a noble Verſefier ſaith, that patience is a right noble maner to Vaynquyſſhe . for he that ſuffreth ouercometh / and yf thou Wylt Vaynquyſſhe and ouercome . lerne to ſuffre . the peagers ner they that kepe paſſages ought not to take other peage ne paſſage money but ſuche as the prynce or the laWe haue eſtabliſſhed / ſo that they be not more robbours of money than receyuours of peage and paſſage · And hit apertayneth to them to goo out of the perelous Weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce and they ought to requyre theyr paſſage of them that oWe to paye hit Wyth out noyeng and contenacon · and they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt ſo moche · that they falle in the huntyng of theyr conſcience . For that ſhold be a maner of robberye / and hewf ſayth yſaye / Woo to the that robbeſt . for thou thy ſelf ſhalt be robbyd . The gardes or porters of the gates of cites and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeſte / and al trouth ought to be in them & they ought not to take ne WythdraWe the goodes of the comyn that they haue in keppyng more than apertayneth to them for their pencion or fee / ſo that they that ley made treſorers & kepars ley not named theuys /

For Who that taketh more than his / he shal neuer thryue
With al / ner shal not enioye hit longe . for of euyl goten
good the third heyre shal neuer reioyse / & thys suffyseth /

This eyght chappytre of the third book treteth of ribaul=
des . players of dyse & of messagers and curwurs ca viij

He ribauldes players at dyse & the messagers & cur
t wurs ought to be sette tofore the wok. for hit apper
teyneth to the wok Whiche is vicayr of the kyng to haue
men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es=
pye the places & citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thys pawn that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner. he must haue the forme of a man that hath longe heeris and black and holdeth in his ryght hand a litil money and in his lift hand thre dyse. & aboute hym a corde in stede of a gurdel. and ought to haue a boye ful of lettres / & by the first whiche is money is vnder-stonde they that be fole large & wastours of theyr goodes and by the second whiche is the dyse / ben represented the playes at dyse / ribauldes & butters / & by the thyrd whyche is the boye ful of lettris. ben represented the messagers / currours / and berars of lettres / & ye shal vnderstonde that the rooke whiche is vycayre of the kyng whan he seeth to fore hym suche peple as ben fole large and wastours / he is bounden to constitute and ordeygne vpon them tutours & curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner their goodes ne their heritages. that pouerte constrayne hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habun-daunce of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folily & wasteth hit awey whan he cometh to pouerte & hath nought. he must nedes begge and aye his breed / or ellis he must be a theef For suche maner of peple / yf they haue been delycious they wyl not labouze / for they haue not lernyd hit,
And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen / they be a shamyd to axe and begge / And thus must they by force whan they haue wasted theyr owne propre goo-des yf they wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes of other. And ye shalle vnderstonde that fole large is a ryght euyl vyce. For how wel that she doeth good and prouffyt somtyme to other.

yet ſhe doth harme and dõmage to hym that ſo waſteth. Caſſiodore admoneſteth the ſole lordes to kepe their thynges that by no neceſſite they falle in pouerte / and that they be not conſtraynedy to begge ne to ſtele of other men. For he ſayth that hit is grettter ſubtilte to kepe wel his owne goodes than to fynde ſtraunge thynges. & that it is grettter vertue to kepe that is gotey thay to gete and wynne more, & claudyan ſaith in like wyſe in his book that hyt is a grettter thynge & bettre to kepe that is gotey. thay to gete more 'and therfore hit is ſaydy that the poure demaũ/deth & beggeth or he feluth / & alſo hit is ſaid that he that diſpendeth more than he hath / with out ſtroke he is ſmyten to the deth / There was a noble may named Johy de ganazath whiche was right riche. and this may had but two doughters whom he maried to two noble men / and whay he hady maried them / he loued ſo wel his ſones in law their huſbondes that in ſpace and ſucceſſyon of tyme / he departed to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf to them they obeyed hym and were right dyligent to pleſe and ſerue hym / So hit befel that oy a tyme that he hady alle gyuen in ſo moche that he hady right nought / Thay hit happendy that they to whom he hady gyuen his goodes. Whiche were wont to be amyable and obeyſaunt to hym as longe as he gaf, Whan the tyme came that he was pouze and knewe that he hady nought. they became vnkynde / Dyſagreable and dyſobeyſaunt. And whay the fader ſawe that he was deceyuyd by his delonayrte and loue of his doughters / He deſyred and coueyted ſore to eſchewe hys pouerte.

Atte laſte he went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde tyme. and requyred hym to lene to hym v thouſand pound for to paye and rendre agayn wyth in thre dayes / And he lente hit hym / and whan he had brought hit in to hys hous / hit happend that hit was a day of a ſolempne feſte on whiche day he gaf to his doughters and her huſbond a right noble dyner / & after dyner he entred in to his chā bre ſecretly wyth them / and dreWe out of a coffre that he had do make al neW ſhittyngs wyth thre lockes the mo ney that the marchaunt had lente hym · and poured hit out vpon a tapite that his doughters & their huſbondes myght ſee hit / and whan he had ſheWyd hit vnto them he put hit vp ageyn & put hit in to the cheſte fayneyng that hit had ben al his . & whan they were departed he bare the money home to the marchaunt that he had borWed hit of · and the neyt day after his doughters & their huſbondes ayed of hym hoW mocke money was in the cheſte that was ſhette wyth thre lockis / and than he fayned & ſayd that he had therin xxv thouſand pounde. Whiche he kept for to make his teſtament and for to leue to his doughters & hem · yf they Wold here hem as Wel to hym afterWard as they did whan they Were maried . and than whan they herde that . they Were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con: cluded to ſerue hym honourably as Wel in clothyng as in mete and drynke and of alle othez thynges neceſſarye to hym vnto hys ende / And after this whan the ende of hym began to approche . he callyd his doughters and theiz huſbondes & ſayd to hem in this manere ye ſhalle vnder: ſtonde that the money that is in the cheſte ſhalle vnder

thre lockes J Wyl leue to you/ſauyng J Wyl that ye geue
in my preſence or J dye Whiles J lyue to the frere pre-
chours an hondred pounde / and to the frere menours an
hondred pounde/ and to the heremytes of ſaynt auſtyn fifty
pundy to thende that Whan J am buryed and put in the
erthe ye may demaũde of them the keyes of the cheſt Where
my treſour is Inne /Whiche keyes they kepe / and J haue
put on eche keye a bylle and Writyng in Witneſſyng of
the thynges aboue ſayd / And alſo ye ſhal Vnderſtonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whyles he lay in his deth bedde to
eche chirche and recluſe + and to pour peple a certeyn quan
tite of money by the handes of his doughters huſbondes
Whiche they dyd gladly in hope to haue ſhortly the money
that they ſuppoſid in the cheſte + and Whan hit came to the
laſt day that he dyed + he Was borne to chirche and his eye
quye dooy and Was buried ſolempnly + And the ſeuenth
day the ſeruyſe Worſhypfully accompliſſhed + They Went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religyous men that they
had kept + Whiche Were delyuerd to them / & than they Went
and opened the coffre Where they ſuppoſid the money had
ben Inne /and there they fond no thyng but a grete
clubbe + and on the handlyng Was Wreton / J John of Ca-
nazath make this teſtament + that he be ſlayn Wyth thys
clubbe / that leueth his oWne prouffyt /and gyueth hit to
other /as Who ſayth hit is no Wyſedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren and kepe none for hym ſelf /
And ye ſhal Vnderſtonde that hit is a grete folye to dyſ-
pende and Waſte his good/ in hope for to recouer hit of other
he hit of ſone of doughter or right nygh kynne /for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his owne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys ' and he ought
not to be holden for a good man ·that hath litil renomee
and spendeth many thynges ,and I trowe that suche per-
sones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and
greue seignories and meue warres and tencions ageynst
them that haboūde in richessis and goodes/and also make
extorcions clamours and tribulacōns ayenst theyr lordes
to thende to waste the goodes of the peple .lyke as they
haue wasted theyres/ and suche a wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn prouffyt/ and ye shal vnder
stonde that after these wastours of goodes we saye that
the players of dyse and they that vse bordellys ben worst
of al other · for whan the hete of playeng at the dyse . &
the couetise of theyr stynkyng lecherye hath brought hem
to pouerte ·hit followeth by force that they must be theuys
and robbours /and also dronkenshyp glotenye and alle
maner of euyls folowe them and myschyef /and they
folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men whan they goon vnto the warre or batayllles . And
they coueyte not moche the victorye as they doo the rob
berye 'and they doo moche harme as they goo , And they
brynge lityl gayn or wynnyng ,wherof hit happend on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette wyth an hasardour or dyse player. which sayd
to hym thou goddes man wylt thou playe at dyse with me
thyn hors ayenst my sowle.to whom saint bernard answerd
yf thou wylt oblyge thy sowle to me ayenst my hors / I
wyl a lyght doun and playe wyth the ' and yf thou haue

mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt haue myn hors, and thenne he was glad. and anone caste thre dyse / and on eche dyse was a sise, whiche made x viij poyntes, and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he that was seure that he had wonne, and sayd that the hors was his. and than saynt bernard sayd abyde my sone. for there be mo poyntes on the dyse than x viij and than he cast the dyse, in suche wyse that one of the iij dyse clefte a sondre in the myddes / and on that one parte was vj. and on that other side an aas / and eche of that other was a sise. And than saynt bernard sayd that he had wonne his sowle for as moche as he cast on thre dyse xix poyntes. and than whan this player sawe & apercey-uyd thys myracle. he gaf his sowle to saynt bernard and became a monke and finysshed his lyf in good werkys. The currours and berars of lettres ought hastely and spe dely doo her vyage that is cōmaunded hem. With out ta-ryeng. for theyr taryeng myght noye and greue them that sende hem forth. or ellis them to whom they be sent to And torne hem to right grete dōmage or vylonye, For whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to whom he delyuer his lettres and his maundementis. and otherwhiles suche peple ben Joghelers and dronklewe. and goon out of their weye for to see abbayes and noble men for to haue auauntage. and hit happeth ofte tymes, that whan suche messagers or currours ben enpesshid by ony ta-rieng, that other currours bere letters contrarye to hys. and come tofore hym / of whiche thynges ofte tymes co-meth many thynges discouenable of losse of frendes of

caſtellys · and of lande and many other thynges as in the feet of marchaundyſes / and otheywhile hit happeth that a prynce for the faulte of ſuche meſſangers leſeth to haue victorye vpon his enemyes / and alſo there be ſome that whan they come in a cite where they haue not ley to fore . they ley more leſy to viſite the cyte and the noble men that dwelle therin . than they ley to do theyr voyage whiche thyng they ought not to do / but yf they had ſpeciall charge of them that ſent hem forth ſo to doo /

And alſo whan they be ſent forth of ony lordes marchauntes they ought to be wel ware · that they charge hem not with ouer moche mete on morynges ne with to moche wyne on euenynges / wherby her ſinewes & vaynes myght be greuyd / that they muſt for faute of good reſte tarye . but they ought to goo and come haſtely for to reporte to theiz mayſters anſwers as hit apertayneth . and thiſe ſuffyſen of the thynges aboue ſayd /

The fourth tractate and the laſt of the progreſſyon and draughtes of the forſayd playe of the cheſſe

The fizſt chapitre of the fourth tractate of the cheſſe borde in genere how it is maad capitulo primo

E haue deuyſed aboue the thynges that apertayne
W Vnto the formes of the cheſſe men and of their offi ces. that is to Wete as Wel of noble men as of the comyn peple / Than hit apertayneth that We ſholde deuyſe ſhortly how they yſſue and goon out of the places Where they be ſette. And firſt We ought to ſpeke of the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit repreſenteth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the cyte of babyloyne / in the Whiche this same playe Was foū den as hit is sayd afore + and ye shal Understonde that ye ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher fore that lxiiij poyntes been sette in the eschequer Whyche ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordeure about is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrdy is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles , The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple been sette in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the eschequer voyde as fulle , and ye shal first Understonde Wherfore that there ben lxiiij poyntes in the eschequyer / for as the blessyd saynt Jherome sayth , the cite of babylone Was right grete and Was maad al square , and in euery quarter Was x xj myle by nombre and mesure' the Whiche nombre four tymes tolde Was lxiiij myles . after the ma ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce leu kes , and in englond they be callyd myles also , And for to represente the mesure of this cyte' In Whiche this playe or game Was founden , the philosopher that fond hit first ordeyned a tablier conteynyng lxiiij poyntes square , the Whiche ben comprised Wyth in the bordeur of the tablyer / there ben xxxij on that one side and xxxij on that other side Whiche ben ordeygned for the beaulte of the playe. and for to shewe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit shal appere in the chappytres folowyng , And as to the second + Wherfore the bordeure of the eschequyer is hygher than the table Wyth in + hit is to be Understonde that the bordeur about representeth the Walle of the cyte Whyche is

right hygh /and therfore made the philosopher the bordeur more hygh than the tablier. and as the blessyd Saynt Jherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye /that is to wete vpon a mounteyn of obscurete. Whiche wordes were sayd of babylone Whiche standeth in caldee / & no thyng of that babylone that stondeth in egypt. for it is so that babilone Whiche stondeth in caldee was sette in a right grete playn And had so hygh walles that by the heyght of them was contynuel derkenes enuyronned and obscurete. that none erthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes of the walle. and therfore ysaye callyd hit the montaigne obscure / And saynt Jherome saith that the mesure of the heyght of this walle was thre thousand paas. Whiche ex tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is to wete that lombarde mylis and englissh myles ben of one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cyte was made a tour treangle as a shelde, Wherof the heyght exten ded vnto the lengthe of vij thousand paas /Which is seuen myle englissh/and thys toure was called the tour of babel the walles about the toure made a woman whos name was semyramis as sayth virgilius / As to the thyrdy wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles in the felde of the batayl in one renge, first for as moche as they ben necessarye to al nobles / For the rook Whiche stondeth on the right side and is vycayr of the kyng what may he doo yf the labourer were not sette to fore hym & laboured to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as be necessa: rie for hym / And what may the knyght doo yf he ne hady tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armours + sadellys

ayys and speres & suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym.
And what is a knyght worth wythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
perauenture, and in what maner sholdn the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandyse
And what sholdn kynges and quenes and the other lordes
doo yf they hadn no physiciens ne surgyens, Than I say
that the peple ben the glorye of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles. And therfore thou that art lordn
or a noble man or knyght /despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe.
The secondn cause is why the peple ben sette tofore the no:
bles and haue the table voyde tofore them /is be cause they
begynne the bataylle /they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces andn theyr craftes ' in suche wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cytees andn to
counceylle & make ordenaunces of the peple & of the ba:
taylle. how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl andn make ordenaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lernedn. and wote ne knoweth the mater vpon
what thyngn the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruyce andn the offyce whiche is couenable
vnto hem / and hit apperteyneth not to hem to be of coun
ceyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
man, for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun
ceyl is destroubledn 'and where good counceyl faylleth.
there ofte tymes the cytees ben betrayedn and destroyedn,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges andn the cytees

ben blessyd Whan they ben gouerned by Wyse men /or Whan the gouernours studye in Wysedom.and so hit aperteyneth to the comyn to lerne to vttre the maters.and the maner of procuracion tofore they be counceyllours /For hyt hap peth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he vnderstandeth is made more foole than he is · and the iiij cause Wherfore that there ben in ẏ tablier as many poyntes voyde as been fulle / hit is to Wete for that they What euer they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenforce to haue citees & castellys & possessyons for to sette his peple therin and for to labouze and do their ocupacion/ For for to haue the name of a kyng Wythout a royame is a name voyde. and honour Wythout prouffyt / and al noblesse Wyth out good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse may be maynteyned . ought better be callyd folye than no blesse /and shameful pouerte is the more greuous Whan hyt cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous For no man gladly Wyl repreue a poure man of the co= myn peple . but euery man hath in despyte a noble man that is poure , yf he haue not in hym good maners and vertuous · by Whiche his pouertie is forgoten / And truly a royame Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by Whyche hyt may be gouerned and prospere . may better be callyd a la= trocynye or a nest of theuys than a royame . Alas What habundaunce Was somme tymes in the royames / & What prosperite/in Whiche Was Justyce .and euery man in his offyce contente/how stood the cytees that tyme in Worship & renome.how Was renomed the noble royame of englond alle the World dradde hit and spake Worshyp of hit .How

hit now standeth and in what habundaunce I reporte me to them that knowe hit. yf there ben theuys wyth in the royame or on the see. they knowe that laboure in the roy-ame / and sayle on the see / I wote wel the fame is grete therof / I pray god saue that noble royame. & sende good trewe and polletique councellours to the gouernours of the same + and noblesse of lignage wyth out puyssaunce & myght is but vanyte and dyspyte. And hit is so as we haue saydz tofore that the schequer whiche the phylosopher ordeynedz represented and figuredz the sayd cite of baby-lone. and in like wyse may hit figure a royame and sig-nefye alle the world + and yf men regarde and take heedz vnto the poyntes vnto the myddes of euery quadrante & so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite alwey doublyngz vnto the nombre of lxiiij. The nombre of the same sholdz surmounte al the world. and not onely the worldz but many worldes by the doublyng of myles. Whiche doublyng so as afore is saydz shold surmounte all thynges. & thus endeth the first chappytre of the iiij book

The ſecond chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kyng & how he meuyth in the chequer ca ñ

E ought to knowe that in thys World the kynges
W ſeygnourie and reygne eche in his reame / And in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how the kyng meueth hym and yſſueth out of his place / for ye ſhal vnderſtonde that he is ſette in the iiij quadrante or reynt of theſchequer .and whan he is black, he ſtandeth in the whyt , and the knyght on his right ſide in whyt /& the alphyn and the wok in black /and on the lift ſide the iiij holden the places apoſite / and the reaſon may be ſuche/

For by cause that the knyghtes been the glorie and the crowne of the kyng they ensiewe in sēblable residence· that they do whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the kyng & on the lift side of the quene / & for as moche as the rook on the right side is vicayr of the kyng he accompany eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphyn doth whi che is Juge of the kyng / And in like wyse the lift rook & the lift alphyn accompanye the kyng in semblable siege· In suche wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe si- des with the quene in maner of a crowne / that they may seurely kepe the royame that reluyseth and shyneth in the kyng & in the quene. in suche wyse as they may conferme & diffende hym in their sieges & in theyr places. and the more hastely renne vpon his enemyes / for as moche as the Juge the knyght and the vicayr / kepe & garnysshe the kyng on that one side / they that been sette on the other side kepe the quene / & thus kepe they al the strength & fermete of the royame. & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the thynges that aperteyne to the counceyl / & to the besoyngue of the royame / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne proper thynges. And that they deffendyd not ner toke hede vnto the thynges that apperteynen to the kynge· to the comyn. and to the royame· the royame sholdy anone be deuydedy in parties. And thus myght the Juge reygne / And the name of the dygnyte ryall sholdy be loste. And trewly for as moche as the kynge holdeth the dygnyte aboue alle other and the seignorye royall· therfore hit apperteyneth not that he absente hym long / ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister

ſiege of his wyame/ for Whan he Wyl meue hym. he ought not to paſſe at the firſt draught the nombre of iij poyntes & Whan he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt poynt, he hath the nature of the wokes of the right ſide & of the lift for to goo black or Whyt. & alſo he may goo vnto the Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben ſette /& in this poynt he hath the nature of a knyght/& thiſe tWo maners of meuyng apertayneth otherWhile to the quene /& for as moche as the kyng & the quene that be conioyned to gedre by mariage ben one thyng as one fleſſhe & blood / therfore may the kyng meue on the lift ſide of his propre poynt al ſo Wel as he Were ſette in the place of the quene Whiche is black,& Whan he goeth right in maner of the wok onely & hit happen that the aduerſary be not couerd in ony poynte in the ſecond ligne /the kyngh may not paſſe from his black poynt vnto the thyrd ligne / & thus he ſortiſeth the nature of the wok on the right ſide and lift ſide vnto the place of the knyghtes ,And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt poynt tofore the marchaunt. and the kyng alſo ſortiſt the nature of the knyghtes Whan he goeth on the right ſide in tWo maners. for he may put hym in the voyde ſpace tofore the phiſician/ & in the black ſpace tofore the tauerner. & on the other ſide he goeth in to other tWo places in like Wyſe that is tofore the ſmyth / and the notarye /& thus as in goyngh out firſt in to four poyntes he ſorteth the nature of knyghtes , And alſo the kyngh ſortyſeth the nature of the alphyns at hys fyrſt yſſue in to tWo places. and he may goo on boothe ſides unto the Whyte place voyde / that one tofore the ſmyth on that one ſide / and that other

tofore the tauerner on that other side. al these yssues hath the kyng out of his propre place of his owne vertu Whan he begynneth to meue. but Whan he is ones meuyd fro his propre place. he may not meue but in to one space or poynt and so from one to another /And than he sortiseth the na ture of the comyn peple /And thus by good right he hath in hym self the nature of al / For al the vertue that is in the membris comyth of the heed / And al meuyng of the body. The begynnyng and lyf cometh from the herte And al the dygnyte that the subgettis haue by execusion and continuel apparence of theyr meuyng and yssue + the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribued to hym. the vic torye of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Juges / the auctorite of the vycayrs or legates. the contynence of the quene /the concorde and vnyte of the people, so ben alle thise thynges ascribed vnto the honour & worshyp of the kyng / in his yssue Whā he meuyth first/ the iij ligne tofore the peple he neuer excedyth. for in the third nombre alle maner of states begynne to meue. For the trynary nom bre conteyneth thre parties. Whyche make a perfect nom bre / For a trynarye nombre hath i ij iij / Whiche ioyned to gider maketh vj / Which is the first parfit nombre + and signefieth in this place / vj persones named that constitu te the perfeccion of a royame + that is to wete the kyng the quene Juges knyghtes vicairs or legates. & the comyn peple / & therfore the kyng ought to begynne in his first me uyng of iij poyntes / that he shewe perfeccion of lyf as wel in hym self as in other / after the kyng begynneth to meue he may lede with hym the quene / after ẏ maner of his issue

For why the quene foloweth vnto two angularye places after the maner of the alphyn/ and to a place Indyrecte in the maner of a rook in to the blacke poynt tofore the phisicien /herin is signefyed that the women may not meue nether make vowes of pilgremage ner of viage with out the wylle of theyr husbondes. For yf a woman had auowed ony thyng. her husbond lyuyng / and agayn sayeng. she may not yelde ner accomplisshe her vowe / yf the husbond wyl goo ony where /he may wel goo wythout her And yf so be that the husbond wyl haue her wyth hym she is bounden to folowe hym / And by reson. for a man is the heed of a woman / & not econuerso / For as to suche thynges as longe to patrymonye. they ben like / but the man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the woman ouer his / and therfore whan the kyng begynneth to meue the quene may folowe. and not alwey whan she meueth it is no nede the kyng to meue. for why four the first lignes be wyth in the lymytes and space of the royame / and vnto the thyrd poynt the kynge may meue at his first meuyng out of his propre place. and whan he passyth the fourth ligne he goeth out of his royame / And yf he passe one poynt lete hym bewaar / For the persone of a kyng is acounted more than a thousand of other. For whan he exposith hym vnto the parilles of batayllе. hit is necessarye that he goo attemporatly and slily/ for yf he be taken or deed or ellys Inclusid and shette vp. alle the strengthes of al other faylle and al is finysshed and lost And therfore he hath nede to goo and meue wysely. and also therfore he may not meue but one poynt after hys

firſt meuyng but Where that euer he goo foreWard or bac Ward or oy that one ſide or oy that other or elles corner: Wyſe + he may neuer approche his aduerſarye the kyng ner rer than yn the thyrd poynt /And therfore the kynges yn bataylle ought neuer approche one nygh that other, And alſo When the kyngh hath gooy ſo ferre that al hys men be loſt / than he is ſole, and than he may not endure longh Whan he is brought to that extremyte / and alſo he ought to take hede that he ſtonde not ſo that a knyght or another ſayth chek wok. than the kyngh loſeth the wok / That kynge is not Wel fortunat that leſith hym to Whom his auctorite delegate apertayneth /Who may do the nedes of the wyame yf he be pryuyd taken or deedy Was prouyſour of al the wyame, he ſhal here a ſacke oy his heedy that is ſhette yn a ate, And al they that Were therin ben ta ken yn captyuyte and ſhette vp.

The ſecond chapitre of the fourth book of the quene & how ſhe yſſueth out of her place capitulo tercio

Han the quene Whiche is accompanyed vnto the kyng begynneth to meue from her propre place / ſhe goeth in double maner / that is to wete as an alphyn Whan ſhe is black / ſhe may goo on the right ſide & come in to the point tofore the notarye / & on the lift ſide in the black point and come tofore the gardes of the cyte. and hit is to wete that ſhe fortifeth in her ſelf the nature in iij maners firſt on the right ſide tofore the alphyn. ſecondly on the lift ſide Where the knyght is · & thirdly Indirectly vnto the black point tofore the phiſicien. And the reaſon

Why / is for as mocke as ſhe hath in her ſelf by grace / the auctorite that the wokes haue by cõmyſaion . for ſhe may gyue and graunte many thynges to her ſnbgettis gracyouſly / and thus alſo ought ſhe to haue parfyt Wyſedom as the alphyns haue Whiche ben Juges . as hit is ſayd aboue in the chappytre of the quene . and ſhe hath not the nature of knyghtes + and hit is not fittyng ne couenable thyngh for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the fragylite & feblenes of her / and therfore holdeth ſhe not the Waye in her draught as the knyghtes doy . & Whan ſhe is meuyd ones out of her place ſhe may not goo but fro one poynte to another . and yet couertly Whether hit be forWarde or bac Wardy takyngh or to be taken + and here may be ayyd Why the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kyngh / certeynly it is for the ſolace of hym + and oſtencion of loue / And alſo the peple deſire to haue ſucceſſyon of the kyngh / and therfore the tartaris haue their Wyues in to the felde With hem yet hit is not goody that men haue theyr Wyues Wyth hem / but that they abyde in the cytees or Wythin theyr oWne termys . For Whan they ben out of theyr cytees & lympytes they ben not ſure / but holden ſuſpecte / they ſhold be ſhamefaſt and holde al men ſuſpect. For dyna Jacobs doughter as longe as ſhe Was in the hoWs of her brethezn ſhe kept her Virgynyte, but aſſone as ſhe Wente for to ſee the ſtraunge zegyons / anone ſhe Was corupt & deſoWled of the ſone of ſichem / Seneka ſayth that the Women that haue euyl Vyſages ben gladly not chaſte / but theyr corage deſyreth gladly the companye of men / and ſolinus ſayth that no beſtys femeles deſire to be touched of their males

Whan they haue conceyuyd / except Woman Whiche ought to be a beste resonable . and in this caas she lesith her rayson/ & sidrac Witnessith the same . & therfore in the olde lawe. the faders had dyuerse Wyues and ancellis to thende Whan one Was childe . they myght take another · they ought to haue the Vysage enclyned for teschewe the sight of the men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Inconty-nence & dyffame of other, and ouyde sayth that there ben sōme that how Wel that they eschewe the dede · yet haue they grete ioye Whan they be prayed / & therfore ought the good Women fle the curiositees & places Where they myght falle in blame & noyse of the peple,

The fourth chappytre of the fourth book of the issuyng of the alphyn capitulo quarto

The maneze and nature of the draught of the al-
phyn is ſuche that he that is black in his propre ſie-
ge is ſette on the right ſide of the kyng / and he that is
Whyt is ſette on the lift ſide / and ben callyd and namedy
black and Whyt / but for no cauſe that they be ſo in ſub-
ſtaunce of her propre colour / but for the colour of the pla
ces in Whiche they ben ſette / and alWey be they black or
Whyt Whan they ben ſette in theyr places · the alphyn on
the right ſide . goyng out of his place to the right ſyde
Ward cometh tofore the labourer / and hit is reaſon that
the Juge ought to deffende and kepe the labourers and poſ
ſeſſyons Whiche ben in his Juriſdycaion by al right and
laWe / And alſo he may goo on the lift ſide to the Doyde
place tofore the phiſician / for like as the phyſiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infirmytees of a man · In like Wiſe
haue the Juges charge to appeſe all ſtryues & contenaions
and reduſe Dnto Dnyte . and to punyſſhe and correcte cau
ſes crymynels . the lift alphyn hath alſo tWo Wayes fro
his oWne place one toWard the right ſide Dnto the black
ſpace Doyde tofore the marchaunt · For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes counceyl and ben in debate of queſtyons
Whiche muſt nedes be determyned by the Juges / and that
other yſſue is Dnto the place tofore the tyraundes & that
is by cauſe that ofte tymes amonge them falle noyſes ,
dyſcenaions theftes & manſlaughter , Wherfore they ought
to be punyſſhed by the Juges / & ye ſhal Dnderſtonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey corner Wyſe fro the thyrdy poynt to
the thyrd poynt , keppyng alWey his oWne ſiege / for yf he
be black / he goeth alWey black / and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alWey Whyte / the yſſue or goyng cornerly or angularly ſygnefyeth cautele or ſubtilyte / Whiche Juges ought to haue . The thre poyntes betoken thre thynges that the Juge ought to attende · a iuge ought to further rightful and treWe cauſes . ſecondly he ought to geue treWe counceyl / & thyrdly he ought to geue & Juge rightful ſentences after the alegeaunces · & neuer to goo fro the rightWyſnes of the laWe / and it is to Wete that the alphyn goeth in by draughtes al the tablier wunde about /and that he cometh agayn in to his oWne place · and hoW he hit that al reaſon and good perfeccion ſhold be in a kyng 'yet ought hit al ſo ſpecially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyng and the quene · and the kyng ought not to do ony thyng doubtouſe til he haue ayyd counceyl of his Juges and of the ſages of the wyame /and therfore ought the Juge to be parfaytly Wyſe and ſage as Wel in ſcience as in goody maners · and that is ſignefyed Whan they meue from thre poyntes in to thre / for the ſixte nombre by Whiche they goo al theſchequer . and bryngе hem agayn in to her propre place in ſuche Wyſe that thende of her moeuyng is conioy ned agayn to the begynnyng of the place fro Whens they departed / & therfore hit is callyd a parfayt moeuyng .

The fifthe chappytre of the fourth tractate of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo quinto

After the issue of the alphyns We shal deuyse to you
a the yssue and the moeuyng of the knyghtes / and
We say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt . and on
the lift side black · & the yssue & moeuyng of hem bothe is
in one maner Whan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt/the lift knyght is black / the moeuyng of hem is
suche . that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphyn
as hit apezyth of the knyght on the zyght syde that
is Whyt / And hath thre yssues from his propre place /
one on his right side in the place tofore the labouzer .

and hit is Wel reſon that Whan the labourer and huſbond may hath labouzed the feldes . the knyghtes ought to kepe them · to the entente that they haue Vitaillles for them ſelf & theyr horſes / The ſecond yſſue is that he may meue hym Vnto the black ſpace tofore the notayre or draper for he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make hys Teſtamentes & couertours neceſſarye Vnto hys body . The thyrd yſſue is that he may goo on the lift ſyde in to the place tofore the marchaunt Whiche is ſette tofore the kyng the Whiche is black · and the reſon is for as moche as he ought and is holden to deffende the kyng as Wel as his oWne perſone / Whan he paſſyth the firſt draught · he may goo four Weyes / and Whan he is in the myddes of the ta ; bliez he may goo in to Vij places ſondry / to Whiche he may renne / and in like Wyſe may the lift knyght goo Whiche is black and goeth out of his place in to Whyt / And in that maner goeth the knyght fightyng by his myght / & groWeth and multeplyeth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes by them the felde is Wonne or loſt/ a knyghtes Vertue and myght is not knoWen but by his fightyng / And in his fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght eytendeth in to ſo many poyntes / they ben in many parellis in theyr fightyng . and Whan they eſcape they haue the ho nour of the game . & thus is hit of euery man the more Vayllyant / & the more honoured/ and he that meketh hym ſelf ofte tymes ſhyneth clereſt .

The ſixte chappytre of the fourth tractate treteth of the yſſue of the wokes and of her progreſſyon capitulo vj

The moeuyng & yſſue of the wokes Whiche ben by-
t cayrs of the kynge is ſuche / that the right wok is
black & the lift wok is Whyt/ and Whan the cheſſe ben ſette
as Wel the nobles as the comyn peple firſt in theyr propre
places ·the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no Waye to
yſſue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
peple / For they ben encloſid in theyr propre ſieges ·
And the reſon Why is ſuche . that for as moche as they
ben vycayrs lieuetenauntes or cõmyſſyoners of the kyng
theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yſſue out /

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce / for as longe as they be wythin the palays of the kyng. so longe may they not vse ne execute theyr cōmyssyon · but anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye shal vnderstonde that theyr auctorite is grete / For they re presente the persone of the kyng / and therfore where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier + in lyke wyse as they goon thrugh the royame / and they may goo as wel whyt as black as wel on the right side and lifte as foreward and backward / and as fer may they renne as they fynde the tablier voyde · whether hit be of his aduer-saries as of his owen felawshyp. and whan the rook is in the myddel of the tablier / he may goo whiche way he wyl in to four right lignes on euery syde. and it is to wete that he may in no wyse goo cornerwyse / but alwey right forth goyng and comyng as afore is said. wherfore al the subgettis of the kyng as wel good as euyl ought to knowe by theyr moeuyng that the auctorite of the vy-cayrs and cōmyssyoners ought to be veray trewe rightwys and Juste / and ye shal vnderstande that they ben stronge and vertuous in bataylle. for the two rookes onely may vaynquysshe a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym. and take from hym his lyf and his royame / and this was doon whan Cirus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of medes slewe balthazar and took his royame from hym. whiche was neuewe to enylmoradach vnder whom thys game was founden.

The vij chappytre of the fourth book of the yssue of the comyn peple capitulo septimo

One yssue and one moeuyng apperteyneth vnto all o the comyn peple /for they may goo fro the poynt they stande in at the first meuyng unto the third poynt right forth tofore them /and whan they haue so doon they may afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in to another. And they may neuer retorne backward. and thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by vertue and strengthe. that thynge that the other nobles fynde by dygnyte /and yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the fertheſt ligne tofore them where theyr aduersaryes were sette they requyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace /

For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd ligne yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien. or kepar of the cite been
they reteyne suche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue
goten hit / & than retornyng agayn homeward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chappitre of the quene / and yf
ony of the pawnes that be black · as the smyth + the mar-
chaunt / the tauerner, & ribaulde may come without dōmage
in to the same vtterest ligne / he shal gete by his vertu the
dynyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstonde / whan
thyse comune peple meue right forth in her ligne / & fynde
ony noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on ony side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye whether hit be on the right side
or on the lift / & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus-
pecious that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her persones whā they go vpward right
forth. and therfore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaryes / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes · & whether
hit be goyng forward or retornyng fro black to whyt, or
whyt to black / the pawne must alwey goo in his right lig
ne / & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest ligne of theschequer / & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fiers · and
than he may goo on al sides cornerwyse fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene both fightyng & takyng whom he fyn
deth in his waye. And whan he is thus comen vnto the
place where the nobles his aduersaries were sette he shal

he made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the poynte that he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the qnene, & alle these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe of the chesse. and ye shal vnderstonde that no noble man ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple for hit hath been ofte tymes seen that by their vertu and Wytte / dyuerse of them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as popes. bysshops / emperours and kynges / as We haue in the hysto rye of dauyd that Was made kyng of a shepherdy and one of the comyn peple & of many other /and in lyke Wise We rede of the contrarye / that many noble men haue been brought to myserye by theyr defaulte / as of gyges Whiche Was right riche of landes and of richessis & Was so proud that he Went and demaunded of the god apollo yf there Were ony in the World more riche and more heppy than he Was /and than he herde a Voys that yssued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrefises/ that a peple named agalans sophide Whiche Were poure of goodes & riche of corage Was more acceptable than he Whiche Was kyng/ & thus the god apollo alowed more the sapyence and the surete of the poure man & of his litel meyne /than he dyd the astate and the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit is more to alowe a lytyl thyng seurly pourseWed thenne moche good taken in fere and drede /and for as moche as a man of lowe lignage is by his vertue enhaunsed so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno mee. Virgyle that Was borne in lombardye of the nacion of mantua and Was of lowe and symple lignage / yet he Was souerayn in Wysedom and saience & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of Whom the renomee Was / is and ſhal be duryng the Worlde . ſo hit happend that another poete ayyd and demaunded of hym Wherfore he ſette not the Verſis of homere in his book · and he anſWerd that he ſholde be of right grete ſtrengthe and force that ſholde plucke the clubbe out of heraules handes / and thys ſuffiſeth the ſtate and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The viij chappytre and the laſt of the fourth book of the eppylogacion and recappytulacion of thys book capitulo viij.

Or as moche as we see and knowe that the memo
f rye of the peple is not retentyf but right forgeteful
whan sōme here longe talis and historyes whiche they can
not al reteyne in her mynde or recorde · Therfore I haue
put in thys present chappytre al the thynges abouesayd as
shortly as I haue cōne / first this playe or game was foū
den in the tyme of enylmerodach kyng of babylone / And
excerses the philosopher otherwyse named philometer foūde
hit / and the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chappytres · For the
sayd kyng was so tyrānous & feloun that he myght suffre
no correcion / but slewe them and dyd do put hem to deth
that correctid hym · and had than doo put to deth many
right wyse men / than the peple beyng sorouful and right
euyl plesid of this euyl lyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the phylosopher · that he wold reprise and telle the
kyng of his folye / and than the philosopher answerd that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde · and the peple sayd to hym /
certes thou oughtest sōner wylle to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the peple · than the lyf of the kyng
shold cōtynue in euyl for lacke of thy coūceil · or by faulte
of reprehension of the · or thou darist not doo & shewe / that
thou sayest · & whan the philosopher herde thys he promysid
to the peple that he wold put him in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse
And thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeyg-
ned the eschequer of lxiiij poyntes as is afore sayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluer

in humayn figure after the facions & formes as We haue deuyſid & ſheWid to you tofore in theyr chappytres / & ordey ned the moeuyng & theſtate after that, it is ſaid in the chapitres of theſcheſſys / & Whan the philoſophre had thus ordeyned the playe or game . & that hit pleſid alle them that ſaWe hit, on a tyme as the philoſopher played on hit the kyng came and ſaWe hit and deſired to playe at this game / And thenne the philoſopher began tenſigne and teche the kyng the ſcience of the playe and the draughtes / Sayeng to hym firſt hoW the kyng ought to haue in hym ſelf pyte debonayrte and ryghtWyſnes / as hit is ſayd tofore in the chappytre of the kyng / And he enſeygned to hym the eſtate of the quene and What manerz ſhe ought to haue / And thenne of the alphyns as counceyllourz and Juges of the wyame / And after the nature of the knyghtes / hoW they ought to be Wyſe . treWe and auztoys and al the ordre of knyght hode / And than after the nature of the Bycayrs and Rookes as hit apperyth in theyr chappytre / And after thys hoW the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce And hoW they ought to ſerue the nobles . And Whan the philoſopher had thus taught and enſeygned the kynge and his nobles by the manez of the playe and had zeprehendyd hym of his euyl maners . The kyng demaunded hym Bpon payn of deth to telle hym the cauſe Why and Wherfore he had made and foundey thys playe / and game / And What thyng meuyd hym therto / and than the philoſopher conſtrayned by fere & drede anſWerd . that he had promyſed to the people Whyche had requyryd hym

that he ſhold correcte and repreſe the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deth and had ſeen
that the kyng dyd do ſlee the ſages & wyſe men that were
ſo hardy to blame hym of his vyces . he was in grete an=
guyſſhe and ſorowe / how he myght fynde a maner to cor=
recte and reprehende the kyng . and to ſaue his owen lyf
and thus he thought longe and ſtudyed that he fond this
game or playe . whiche he hath do ſette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his ma=
ners . and he adiouſtyd wyth al that he had foundey thys
game for ſo moche as the lordes and nobles haboundyng
in delices and richeſſis . and enioyeng temporel pees ſhold
eſchewe ydelnes by playeng of thys game . and for to gyue
hem cauſe to leue her penſifnes and ſorowes . in auyſyng
and ſtudyeng this game / and whan the kyng had herde al
thyſe cauſes . he thought that the philoſopher had founde a
good maner of correcaon . & than he thankyd hym gretely
and thus by thenſignement and leernyng of the philoſo=
pher . he chaunged his lyf his manerz and alle his euyll
condicions / and by this maner hit happendy that the kyng
that tofore tyme hady hey vyces and diſordynate in hys
yuyng was made Juſte and vertuous / debonayr / gra=
ous and ful of vertues vnto al peple . And a may that
yuyth in thys world without vertues yueth not as a
may but as a beſte . Thenne late euery may of what
condycon he be that redyth or heryth this litel book rede .
take therby enſaumple to amende hym .

Explicit per Caxton.

REMARKS.

EVERY circumstance connected with the history of the Art of Printing, its invention and progress, possesses an interest which time only enlarges and heightens, as the experience of the world's history shows more and more forcibly the value of the benefit it has conferred on mankind. It is natural, therefore, that the honoured names of the Founders of our Art should be held in reverence, and all the circumstances connected with their early efforts for its promotion should be regarded with a deep and enduring interest. Schœffer, Faust, and Guttemberg, Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, are familiar to us all, whilst the literary student and antiquary retrace their histories and discuss their respective claims. The Art was in its early stage regarded as a mystery, the very character of which invested it with a peculiar attraction and importance in the eyes of the uninitiated; and it was natural that those who first produced and promoted such an important invention, should desire to retain their secret, and receive the just reward of their ingenuity and skill. To this we may probably ascribe the fact, that such scanty particulars connected with the introduction of the Art have been handed down to us; and the remarkable circumstance that, when the general principles became known, and Printers multiplied with astonishing rapidity, the peculiar secrets, by which the inventors of the Art had attained the excellence observable in their works, should have followed them to the grave, and been lost to posterity.

So long as the only known method of printing from a raised surface was confined to the cutting each page on a block of wood, the labour of preparing to print was so tedious and slow, that this, the most skilful part of the whole operation, required the largest amount of the labour employed, and consequently that the whole of the process, and the power of practising it,

were of necessity entrusted and taught to the whole of the persons employed; and it is too consistent with the selfishness of human nature for us to be surprised that these men (probably mere labourers originally) should, when in possession of this valuable secret, and notwithstanding the oaths of secresy administered to them, desire to practise it in a greater degree for their own benefit than by working for others. Nor did the introduction of moveable types, cut singly or in words on separate blocks, very greatly facilitate the process, or render the skilled labour required much less.

But when Schœffer conceived the possibility of producing the whole of the type required for his work from the execution of one cut alphabet, he had in his own possession the knowledge of all the skill. He might in a separate apartment produce his types, and carry them to labourers of inferior skill, to put them together and take off the impressions. Such labourers would have but little power of carrying away and communicating his type-producing process to others. And we thus find, that although the Art of Printing spread with extraordinary rapidity,—the invention being ascribed to Guttemberg about the year 1442, and at the time of its introduction into England (1474) being practised in fifty different towns in Germany, France, and Italy,—our countryman was totally ignorant, at the time of its introduction, and apparently for some years after, of the process of casting types.*

* The mystery thrown over the operations of a Type-foundry, within my own recollection (thirty-four years), and the still greater secresy which had existed in my father's experience, testifies that the Art had been perpetuated by a kind of Druidical or Masonic induction from the first. An anecdote of my father's early struggles may illustrate this. At the death of Mr. Joseph Jackson, whom my father had served ten years as apprentice and foreman, there was in progress, for the University Press of Oxford, a new fount of Double-Pica Greek, which had progressed under my father's entire management. The then Delegates of that press—the Rev. Dr. Randolph and Rev. W. Jackson—suggested that Mr. Figgins should finish the fount himself. This, with other offers of support from those who had previously known him, was the germ of his prosperity (which he always gratefully acknowledged). But when he had undertaken this work, the difficulty presented itself, that he did not know where to find the punch-cutter. No one knew his address; but he was supposed to be a tall man, who came in a mysterious way occasionally, whose name no one knew, but he went by the *sobriquet* of "the Black Man." This old gentleman, a very clever mechanic, lived to be a pensioner on my father's bounty,—gratitude is perhaps a better word. I knew him, and could never understand the origin of his *sobriquet*, unless Black was meant for dark, mysterious, from the manner of his coming and going from Mr. Jackson's foundry.

The celebrated Bible by Guttemberg—known as the Mazarin Bible, a copy of which is in the British Museum—and the splendid production of the Psalmorum Codex by Schœffer, printed from cast metal types, not excelled by anything modern, had appeared at Mentz ten years before. The city of Mentz had been sacked, all its printers dispersed, and their types probably melted into bullets; the type-foundry was destroyed, and the dispersed printers were left once more to forage out the new method of producing their materials.

That Caxton used *separate* types for the productions of his Press, from the first, is undoubted; as also is the fact that they were of metal, and that the metal was cast in blocks ready to receive the letter from the hand of the engraver; but that each letter was so cut separately, is easily established by observing that throughout any book printed with these types, no two letters can be found exactly alike; whereas, if cast from a matrix, each perfect type must have been a facsimile of all the others, instead of having a mere family likeness. Now I find so much difference in the earlier works of Caxton, that I am disposed to think each work had, if not altogether new type, at least a very large proportion recut.

The first work attributed to Caxton's press in London, is 'The Game of the Chesse'; not this edition which I have reproduced, with woodcuts, but the edition which has the date 1474. Now this book bears such a strong likeness to the 'History of Troy,' which is known to have been printed at Cologne, that I have no hesitation in ascribing its production to that city. Apart from the similarity of the type,—which, considering its difference from any used in subsequent works, is sufficient evidence to satisfy my mind,—I find an exact similarity in the paper; the water-mark in the paper of the 'Game of Chesse' being the same as that in the paper of the 'History of Troy,' towards the end of the book (a bull's head pendent from part of a Catholic cross). The type has more of the secretary character in it, is much more regularly cut, and the press-work is so much better, (more even than in Caxton's subsequent works,) as to indicate clearly that, commencing with the second edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' the printer, *if the same*, was working under different circumstances, with different materials, and with somewhat less skill.

The date of Caxton's return to England, after his thirty years' absence, does not appear to be certainly known. Mr. Herbert, in his edition of

Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' 1785, says, quoting some anonymous authority:—"1471. King Edward IV. returns home; and *probably* Caxton attended him." To which he adds his own remark:—"This hypothesis, how ingenious soever, has yet this difficulty to get over,—the utter silence of Caxton concerning this affair, even when as fair an opportunity offered as could be, to have given at least some intimation thereof." Mr. Ames also says, speaking of the first edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' "This book has been compared with 'Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,' 1464, as well as with the translation thereof by Caxton, printed at Cologne, 1471, and a perfect resemblance found between them in the manner of printing; not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page, the length, breadth, and the intervals between the lines, are alike."

Supported by this evidence, I look upon the second edition, the one of which I here present a copy, as the first known work produced from Caxton's press at Westminster.

The early works of Caxton, dating from the illustrated 'Game of Chesse,' show evidences of the frequent renewal of the types; and, although produced in succession, some variation in the appearance of the letter is perceptible; nor is this surprising, as they are evidently cut upon very soft metal (probably pewter), and the presses of those days had no means, so far as we know, of regulating the force with which the pressure was brought down upon the face of the type.

Mr. Knight, in his biography of Caxton, says:—"The earliest printing-press was nothing more than a common screw-press,—such as a cheese-press or a napkin-press,—with a contrivance for running the *form* of type under the screw after the form was inked." "As the screw must have come down upon the types with a dead pull; that is, as the table upon which the types were placed was solid and unyielding, great care must have been required to prevent the pressure being so hard as to injure the face of the letters."

In the copy of the 'Game of Chesse' which I have here attempted to reproduce, there are many pages which evidence the want of a regulating adaptation, showing that, if the pressman's arm was invigorated occasionally somewhat beyond propriety, the power of his muscle was the only limit to his pull; at any rate they are almost illegible, and if used until the number of the work required was completed, the types would scarcely be thought worth distributing for recomposition.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that I have heard it maintained that of some of his works Caxton produced more than one or two editions with the same date, the only argument for such a supposition being, that some pages in different copies are not precisely alike; but I think, if my suggestion that the types were of pewter be correct, the fact of a page or two of a work being battered and requiring to be reset during its progress, will sufficiently account for these small differences in the same edition.

Pewter, being an alloy of lead and tin, was probably the hardest known alloy fusible at a moderate temperature, and cast with facility in an iron or brass mould, until the process of freeing antimony from its native impurities (sulphur, arsenic, etc.) had been discovered, and its fusibility with lead and tin proved possible. If there is no certain record of the date at which this took place, it is a curious fact, that until a very recent date, when it was introduced into the manufacture of Britannia metal, the Regulus of Antimony, as the pure metal is called, had no application in the Arts, except as an alloy with tin and lead for the manufacture of printing-types.

Zinc, with tin and lead, is a hard alloy, but, from the volatile nature of the zinc, it becomes oxidized soon after attaining the point of fusion, and the mass becomes thick, pudding-like, and unworkable. An addition of arsenic might render the alloy of lead and tin harder; but from the recent date at which Chemistry became a science, it may be doubted whether in the time of Caxton it was known as a metal.

Perhaps a more practical argument in favour of pewter having been the metal on which Caxton's types were cut, is the appearance of the letters themselves in print. This however is an argument scarcely appreciable but to those who have handled the graver upon different kinds of metal. The softer metals, such as that we have under consideration, do not clear themselves from the tool as do the harder; nor does the tool clear what it cuts from the mass with the same freedom as if it were brass or steel; and occasionally the tool, when losing its keen edge, will drive the soft metal before it rather than cut it out clean. Now these appearances are very frequent in the types of the early works of Caxton printed at Westminster.

In going through the book, as I have been obliged to do, word by word and letter by letter, I have found several stray characters which induce me to think there must have been some intervening works for which other characters were required. For instance, at page 21, line 3 from bottom of

the page, occurs sh[1]; this is not to be found again in the volume, and being here used in the pronoun *she*, can have no particular signification in this place.

At page 34, line 2 from the bottom of the page, in the word *atticorum*, the last syllable is contracted.[2] The contraction of the termination *um* is common in Latin works of the period, but does not occur elsewhere in this book.

At page 67, line 4 from the bottom, is the old contraction y^{e}[3] for *the*, which is only used two or three other times throughout the book; but at the beginning of the same line occurs the contracted e,[4] properly used as indicating that m should follow, although it is frequently used in the book without any such meaning.

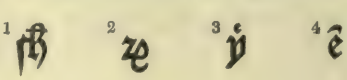
At page 77, line 21 from top, as in many other places, the h[5] with a stroke through the top will be found in the word *hymself*, equally without meaning.

At page 82, line 17, page 83, line 20, and page 85, line 16, is used a peculiar combination of the letters ad,[6] which I do not find in any other place in the book.

The ll[7] with a stroke through the top also frequently occurs, without any apparent motive for its presence. The anomalous presence of these characters raises the question of their original intent, and makes us doubt whether they were cut for their present places.

It will be seen, by the synopsis of the characters which follow these remarks, and by the book itself, that Caxton used combinations of letters, such as be, bo, he, ho, etc. Caxton was, therefore, the first to print from logotypes, an idea just now resuscitated by Major Beniowski and Mr. Greene, from the tomb to which it was condemned nearly four hundred years ago.

It will be observed that the sloping stroke which is generally used in place of the modern comma is of varied length, sometimes reaching through the body of the letter, sometimes but a fourth of the length, and when thus shortened, scarcely twice in the same position, above, below, or in the middle of the line: this I have endeavoured to imitate, although I believe it to be without meaning—merely the accidental breaking or battering of the type. (These strokes are generally perfect in what I may call the Cologne edition.) It may be observed that the stroke is very frequently used in places where a



full-point is evidently wanted, and sometimes where, in modern punctuation, no pause at all would be indicated.

There are errors sufficient throughout the original work to make it doubtful whether revise-proofs were pulled in those days. I have closely followed the copy in these matters, except so far as "turned letters" were concerned.

Having thus given publicity to some ideas which have suggested themselves during the progress of my work, I have only now to make a few observations upon the book here offered to the literary and antiquarian public, and my motive for undertaking its reproduction.

The copy of Caxton's book which I have taken for my guide is in the King's Library at the British Museum. The fact that the original is printed from *cut* metal types, and is a mixture of black letter and the character called secretary, with all the shades of modification and approximation to each other of which the two styles are capable, makes the work of reproducing by means of cast types from a single cut punch somewhat difficult; but as I found the black letter and its approximations predominate, I have endeavoured, while keeping between the two styles, to adhere more closely to the black letter. Could I have had a copy of the original beside me during my progress, I should have succeeded more to my own satisfaction, and completed my work in one-fourth of the time. As it is, I hope it will not be esteemed a bad imitation of Caxton's book; and as few persons, except those who have decidedly antiquarian tastes, and the curious who take the trouble to seek for these old works in their present solitude, have any idea of their appearance, or even of any black-letter book, this may not be without use in conveying a knowledge of these things into quarters which the originals can never reach.

The paper upon which this book is printed has been made expressly for its publication, with the reed and water-marks imitated from the original,—that is to say, two of the water-marks; for the second or English edition, from which I have been copying, has five distinct water-marks, neither of which is like that used throughout the first edition. For the readiness with which this troublesome work was undertaken, after I had failed to obtain it in several other quarters, and the pains and care used to assimilate it to the original,—as I think, with much success,—I owe my acknowledgments to Mr. Wilmot, of Shoreham Mills, near Sevenoaks.

My motive in producing this book has been partly to enable my contemporaries better to appreciate the industry of our worthy countryman William Caxton, but more especially to assist in raising funds for the completion and endowment of a benevolent institution for decayed Printers. Should the Public feel as much interest in the Charity as I do, and the Learned think well of this publication, we shall have rendered a not unworthy tribute to the memory of William Caxton, in the completion and endowment of the Printers' Almshouses at Wood Green, Tottenham.

VINCENT FIGGINS.

West-street, West Smithfield, London,
May 1st, 1855.

A LIST

OF

THE WORKS ASCRIBED TO CAXTON,

As printed by Mr. Knight in his 'Biography of Caxton,' and furnished to him for the 'Penny Cyclopædia' by Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; with date of production, where known, and Catalogue and Press Mark, for finding such as are in the Library of the British Museum.

K. L. means King's Library.
G. L. „ Grenville Library.
The King „ retained by his Majesty George III., when he presented his Library to the Museum.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
The King.		1464	1. Le recueil des Histoires de Troyes, compose par raoulle le feure, Chapellein de Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en l'an de grace milcccclxxiiii. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		2. Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Magistri Johannis Russell, decretorum doctoris ac adtunc Ambassiatoris Edwardi Regis Anglie et Francie ad illustr. Principem Karolum ducem Burgundie super susceptione ordinis garterij, etc. 4to.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 1.	1471	3. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawen out of diverce bookes of latyn into Frensshe by Raoul le ffeure in the yere 1464, and drawen out of frensshe in to Englisshe by William Caxton at the commaundement of Margarete Duchess of Bourgoyne, &c., whyche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 1468 and ended in the holy cyte of Colen 19 Sept. 1471. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 23.	1474	4. The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, fynysshid the last day of Marche, 1474. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		5. A second edition of the same. Fol., with woodcuts.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 3.	1475	6. A boke of the hoole lyf of Jason. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 1.	1477	7. The Dictes and notable wyse Sayenges of the Phylosophers, transl. out of Frenshe by lord Antoine Wydeville Erle Ryuyeres, empr. at Westmestre. Fol.
		1478	8. The Morale Prouerbes of Cristyne of Pisa. Fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 2.	1480	9. The Book named Cordyale, or Memorare Novissima, which treateth of The foure last things. Begun 1478, finished 1480. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 4.	1480	10. The Chronicles of Englond. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 24.	1480	11. Descripcion of Britayne. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 5. C. 21. d.	1481	12. The Mirrour of the World or thymage of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 3.	1481	13. The Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe. Fol.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
K. L.	C. 10. b. 6. C. 21. d.	1481	14. The Boke of Tullius de Senectute, with Tullius de Amicitia, and the Declamacyon, which laboureth to shew wherein honour sholde rest. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 4.	1481	15. Godefroy of Boloyne; or the laste siege and conqueste of Jherusalem. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 7. 598. i.	1482	16. The Polycronycon, 1482. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	17. The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 5. 1–2	1483	18. Liber Festivalis, or Directions for keaping Feasts all the Yere. Westm., fol.
? K. L.	C. 11. c. 5. 1–2		19. Quatuor Sermones. Fol., no date.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	20. Confessio Amantis, that is to saye in Englisshe, 'The confessyon of the Louer,' maad and compyled by Johan Gower, squyer. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 8.	1483	21. The Golden Legende. Westm., fol.
			22. Another edition of The Legende. Sm. fol.
		1483	23. A third, fin. at Westmr., 20 May, 1483, fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 8.	1483	24. The booke callid Cathon (Magnus). Transl. from the French. Fol.
			25. Parvus Chato. Fol., no name or date.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 6. C. 21. d.	1484	26. The Knyght of the Toure. From the French. Fol.
The King.	C. 11. c. 17.	1484	27. The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope. Translated from the French. Fol.
	C. 21. c. 1. C. 11. d. 19.		28. The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode. From the French. Assigned to 1484. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 22.	1484	29. The Book Ryal; or the Book for a Kyng. Fol.
		1485	30. A book of the noble Hystoryes of Kynge Arthur and of certen of his Knyghtes, which book was reduced in to Englysshe by syr Thomas Malory Knight. Fol.
B. M.	C. 10. b. 9.	1485	31. The Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce and Emperour of Rome. Fol.
		1485	32. Another edition of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 10.	1485	33. Thystorye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy Knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyenne the doulphyns doughter of Vyennoys. Transl. from French. 1485, fol.
		1486	34. The Book of Good Maners. Fol. [Ames says, 1487.]
K. L.	The King.	1489	35. The Doctrinal of Sapyence. Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.	1489	36. The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye. Translation from the first part of Vegetius de Re Militari. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 8.	1490	37. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye. From the French. Fol.
K. L. G. L.	C. 10. b. 12. C. 21. d. 9723.	1490	38. The Boke of Eneydos, compyled by Vyrgyle. Transl. from French. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 9.		39. The Tales of Cauntyrburye. Fol., no date.
G. L.			40. Another edition. No date or place.
			41. Infancia Salvatoris. 4to.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
B. M.	C. 21. d.		42. The Boke of Consolacion of Philosophie whiche that Boecius made for his comforte and consolacion. Fol., no date or place.
B. M.	C. 11. c. 9.		43. A collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's minor poems. 4to. [Ames says, in the Public Library at Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 13.		44. The book of Fame, made by Gefferey Chaucer. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 10.		45. Troylus and Creseyde. Fol.
			46. A book for Travellers. Fol.
? G. L.	10542.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 14.		
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the blessyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 16.		49. Directorium Sacerdotum: sive Ordinale secundum Usum Sarum. Westm., fol.
B. M.			50. The Worke (or Court) of Sapience, composed by John Lydgate. Fol.
B. M.			51. A Boke of divers Ghostly Maters. Westm., fol. [A copy in the Public Library, Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 17.		52. The Curial made by Maystre Alain Charretier. From the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 18.		53. The Lyf of our Ladye, made by Dan John Lydgate, monke of Burye. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 19.		54. The Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde, reduced into Englysshe. Fol.
B. M.			55. A Lytel Tretise, intytuled or named The Lucidarye. 4to.
B. M.			56. Reverendissimi viri dni Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D., et epi Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. 24mo.
B. M.			57. The Historye of Kynge Blanchardyne and Queen Eglantyne his wyfe. Fol.
G. L.	C. 21. d.		58. The Siege of the noble and invyncyble Cytee of
	6209.		Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 20.		59. Statuta apud Westmonasterium edita, anno primo Regis Ricardi tercii. Fol.
G. L.	6002.	(1490)	60. Statutes made in the first, second, and third Parliaments of Henry VII. Fol. [The only fragment of this work known is two leaves.]
B. M.			61. The Accidence. (Mentioned in one of the Sale Catalogues of T. Martin of Palgrave, No. 71.)
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		62. The Prouffytable Boke of mānes soule, called the Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern. Fol.
B. M.			63. Horæ, etc. 12mo. A fragment of eight pages, now at Oxford, in the library bequeathed to the Bodleian by the late F. Douce, Esq.
B. M.			64. A fragment of a Ballad, preserved in a volume of scraps and ballads in the British Museum. [A part of the edition of CHAUCER.]
B. M.	C. 25 c. 5.		65. The Fifteen O's and other Prayers.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		66. Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitentiaulx.
B. M.	C. 21. d. 5.		67. Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes. 1480.

*The following is a List of the Places where, and the Persons by whom, the Art of Printing was practised at the time Caxton commenced it in England.**

1457.	*Mayence*	Guttemberg, Faust, and Schœffer.
1461.	*Bamberg*	Albert Pfister.
1465.	*Subbiaco*	Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz.
1467.	*Rome*	The same printers.
1467.	*Elfield*	H. and N. Rechtermuntze and Wm. Spyes.
1467.	*Cologne*	Ulricus Zel (or Zell), of Hanau.
1468.	*Augsburg*	Giuther Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1469.	*Venice*	John and Vindeline of Spire.
1469.	*Milan*	Philippus de Lavagna.
1470.	*Nuremberg*	Joannes Sensenschmidt.
1470.	*Paris*	U. Gering, M. Crantz, and M. Friburger.
1470.	*Foligno*	Emilian de Orfinis.
1470.	*Trevi*	Joan Reynardi.
1470.	*Verona*	Joan de Verona.
1471.	*Strasburg*	J. Mentel or Mentelius, H. Eggestein.
1471.	*Spire*	Petrus Drach.
1471.	*Treviso*	Girardus de Lisa, de Flandria.
1471.	*Bologna*	Balthasar Arzoguidi.
1471.	*Ferrara*	Andreas Belfortes.
1471.	*Naples*	Sixtus Reisinger of Strazburg.
1471.	*Pavia*	Anton de Carcano.
1471.	*Florence*	Bernard Cennini and Son.
1472.	*Cremona*	D. de Paravisino and S. de Merlinis.
1472.	*Fivizano*	Jam Baptista (a priest) and Alexander.
1472.	*Padua*	B. de Valdezochio and M. de S. Arboribus.
1742.	*Mantua*	Petrus Adam de Michaelibus.
1472.	*Montreal* (*Sicily*)	Ant. Mathias and Balth. Corderius.
1472.	*Jesi*	Fridericus Veronensis.
1472.	*Munster* (*in Argua*)	Helias Heyle, or de Louffen.
1472.	*Parma*	Andreas Portiglia.

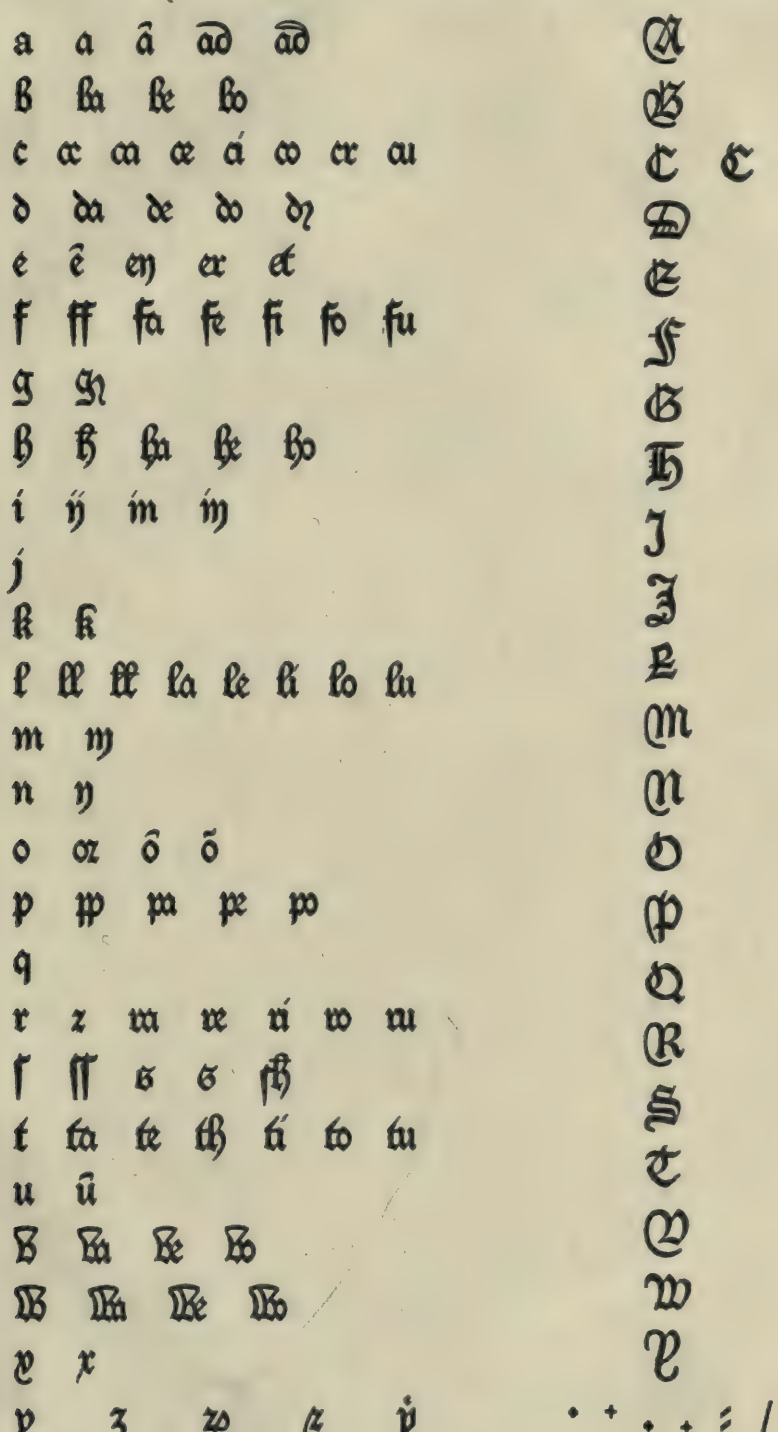
* Santander gives this List from their earliest known works.

1473.	*Messina*	Henricus Alding.
1473.	*Brescia*	Thomas Ferrandus.
1473.	*Ulm*	Joan Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1473.	*Buda*	Andreas Hess.
1473.	*Langingen*	Printer's name not known.
1473.	*Merseburg*	Lucas Brandis.
1473.	*Alost*	Theodoricus (or Thierry) Martens.
1473.	*Utrecht*	Nicholas Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt.
1473.	*Lyons*	Bartholomeus Buyer.
1473.	*St. Ursio (near Vicenza)*	Joannes de Rheno.
1474.	*Vicenza*	Leonardus Achates of Basle.
1474.	*Como*	Ambr. de Orcho and Dion. de Paravicino.
1474.	*Turin*	John Fabri and Joanninus de Petro.
1474.	*Genoa*	Matthias Moranus and Mic. de Monacho.
1474.	*Savona*	John Bon (Bonus Johannes).
1474.	*Eslingen*	Conradus Fyner.
1474.	*Basle*	Bernardus Richel and Bertholdus Rodt.
1474.	*Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ**	Fratres Vitæ Communis.
1474.	*Valencia*	A. F. de Cordova and L. Palmart.
1474.	*Louvain*	Joannes de Westphalia.
1474.	*Westminster*	William Caxton.

* Santander conjectures this place to be Marihausen, a convent of the Brethren of Common Life, situated on the Rheingau, a territory belonging to Mayence. This Order was instituted by Gerard the Great, under the rule of St. Augustine; they were bound to transcribe the works of the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors; but when Printing deprived them of their means of subsistence, they applied themselves to the practice of that Art.—*From Johnson's Typographia.*

SYNOPSIS

of Characters and Combinations used in 'The Game of Chesse.'



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